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## FREE TRADE IN FRANCE.

THE master of France has determined to impose on an unwilling and yet submissive community an improved economical system. The timid and faithless reverence for despotism which, even in a free country, characterizes effeminate minds, expresses itself in the form of astonished gratitude for an unexpected proof of courage and good sense. The Emperor NAPOLEON has undoubtedly displayed commendable firmness even in his vague and hesitating programme of commercial reform. It is but fair to assume that his own convictions are far in advance of his actual professions; and even the partial measures of Free-trade which he has announced will confer considerable benefit on his subjects, and at the same time prepare the way for a more comprehensive system. The letter to the Minister of State is incidentally intended as a friendly overture to foreign countries, and especially to England; nor can it be doubted that the success of an improved commercial policy would ultimately diminish the chances of rupture by rendering war more ruinous to both nations. The English Government will be supported by Parliament in any fiscal measures which may form a suitable response to the probable modifications of the French tariff. The protective duties in favour of various manufactures have long constituted a scandal and an anomaly, and Mr. GLADSTONE will at the same time gratify a neighbouring community and do good service to his own countrymen by allowing them unrestricted access to French markets for gloves and silk and lace. The wine duties are more difficult to deal with, inasmuch as they produce a considerable revenue. The loss to the Customs of half the tax on the higher class of wines would be an un-mixed disadvantage, as the duty imposes no sensible check on their consumption. A reduction may possibly encourage the importation of the lighter growths of Gascony, Burgundy, and Languedoc, and it is probable that a new demand might induce the French wine-grower to improve the quality of his produce by careful cultivation and management. The English revenue would perhaps suffer from the diminished consumption of beer and spirits, if the importation of French wines were largely increased; but it would be worth while to make some fiscal sacrifice for the purpose of promoting as far as possible the commercial intercourse between the opposite shores of the Channel, which is at present so absurdly restricted. The French might, with their great superiority of climate, supply England with a large portion of her importation of wheat; but the compulsory subdivision of property is an evil more deeply rooted than protection or prohibition, and cottagers without cattle or machines are incapable of competing with a system of farming which is conducted like a great manufacture.

In their laudable enthusiasm for Free-trade, the eulogists of the Imperial manifesto have in many instances forgotten to examine its terms and to consider the purposes which it is calculated to effect. It is proposed to encourage agriculture, manufacturing industry, and commerce by gratuities and aids, which are in general only concessions to a national weakness, and also by fiscal relaxations which may benefit the several interests concerned in very different degrees. The commonplace assertion that all branches of industry share in the same causes of prosperity is only true when all are equally natural and independent. Artificial manufacture which has been forced by protective enactments withers or disappears under the operation of Free-trade, like an exotic removed from a greenhouse to the open air. Liverpool, Manchester, and Lincolnshire have found by experience that their respective products can equally dispense with legislative assistance; and for similar reasons a large part of the commerce and agriculture of France will profit by the removal of restrictions. On the other hand, it is by no means certain that the

looms of Rouen or the forges of Mulhouse would be able to maintain their ground without differential duties in their favour; and even the landed interest will find that, under a rational system, beet-root is easily displaced by the sugar-cane.

The most perfect form of commercial intercourse between England and France would be that which prevails between Yorkshire and Middlesex. If the Governments could dispense with a revenue from imports, it would be in the highest degree desirable that all the Custom-houses on both sides should be at once dismantled. The consumers of the two countries, or in other words the entire population, would then procure every commodity which is produced from Shetland to Corsica at the lowest, or natural, price. Factories would be confined to the neighbourhood of coal pits, and thin veins of metal would be left in the ore, while clumsy fingers and tasteless eyes would be relieved from the duty of making graceful and ornamental fabrics. The value of the Emperor NAPOLEON's project depends on the question, whether he means to expose French manufactures to English competition? His letter only proposes to abolish absolute prohibition, to suppress the duties on wool and cotton, and to reduce the taxes on sugar and coffee. Not a word is said about iron, or coal, or any manufactured fabric whatever. Although nothing can be more prudent or justifiable than the free admission of the raw material of textile manufactures, it is evident that Lancashire will rather lose than gain by an increase of competition in the cotton-wool market. It is, indeed, highly probable that the intentions of the EMPEROR are more liberal than his present language; but sooner or later it will be necessary to determine whether French manufactures are still to be protected, and if the question is decided in the affirmative, the tariff, as far as it affects England, will admit of no serious modification.

The devotees of absolutism ought to suspend their applause until they find by experience how far it is really more vigorous than freedom. It is often easier to perform a single operation by hand than to employ a complicated self-acting machine which might, in case of need, produce the same result a thousandfold. For the same reason, a King or Emperor can, in particular cases, do by a word what might occupy a Parliament for half-a-dozen sessions. The difference is, that the products of freedom are infinitely more abundant, and that a policy adopted by a nation through its representatives is permanent, systematic, and irresistible, while a Monarch is forced to temporize, to evade resistance, and finally to be content with the partial attainment of his objects. The Emperor NAPOLEON only ventures to offer his subjects a great improvement in connexion with a promise of questionable and exceptional boons, to be bestowed as a supererogatory gratification on the classes which he professes to benefit. Loans to agriculture and industry, accelerated formation of railways and public works, if they are desirable in themselves, cannot be rendered more necessary by an improved commercial system. The proposal of a price to be paid at the public expense involves a virtual admission that the protected interests, if not the whole community, will be required to make a considerable sacrifice.

It is satisfactory to find that the power which in France determines on peace or war seems for the present to entertain a friendly disposition to England; but the immediate tendency of the proposed changes will certainly not be pacific. It is easy to foresee that the attempt to introduce a degree of Free-trade will tend to stimulate national jealousy and irritation, until it has been justified by long experience. There is no protection against a rival so complete as war, and the French iron-masters would probably prefer double taxes and a threefold conscription to open competition with Staffordshire and Merthyr Tydvil. Even in America, the cotton growers of

Louisiana and the wheat farmers of Illinois are more friendly to England than the spinners and weavers of the Atlantic States. Bordeaux, the capital of the Black Prince, might easily revive through its claret and sauterne the friendly relations which once united it to England. The pacific influences of Free-trade will operate far more slowly in Picardy and in Alsace. Paris, with its innumerable nicknacks, and Lyons, with its silks and velvets, may perhaps be divided between the love of customers and the hatred of competitors; but on the whole, notwithstanding the enlightened views which prevail at the Tuileries, there is reason to fear that some time may elapse before the arrival of a commercial and peaceful millennium.

#### THE DUTY OF THE CONSERVATIVES.

THE forthcoming session will show whether that which calls itself the Conservative party is a party existing for Conservative objects, or whether its sole purpose is to obtain, once in every seven or eight years, a momentary possession of power. "Power" it is ironically called, but in fact it is merely a more active and conspicuous subserviency to the principles and designs of the opposite party. It is a stale rhetorical artifice to say that a great crisis has arrived. Nevertheless, such a thing as a great crisis does occasionally arrive in the history both of parties and of nations. A great crisis had arrived in the history of the Royalist party in France at the time of the first Revolution, when it was called upon to decide whether it would follow the dictates of its reason and support the Moderates, or follow the dictates of its temper and intrigue with the Jacobins. It followed the dictates of its temper, faintly commended to its reason by some shadow of Machiavellian policy; and the result was, first, the overthrow of the Moderates by the unnatural alliance, and then the extermination of the Royalists by the Jacobins. The French Monarchy itself had long played virtually the same game upon a grand scale and with the same result. It had laboured, and laboured with complete success, to destroy the States-General, the Parliament, the independence of the Noblesse, and every other political body or power which offered a constitutional opposition to its absolute sway. Its efforts seemed crowned with final victory when it found itself alone on the political stage with an infuriated people. Our own Cavalier party was drawn by the same spite and the same cunning to endeavour to play off its extreme against its moderate opponents, and was rewarded, like the Royalist party in France, by utter ruin both to itself and the Moderates, and the complete ascendancy of the victorious extreme. It would be an exaggeration to say that the democratic change in the Constitution which is now approaching is a crisis parallel in importance and danger to that of the Great Rebellion or the French Revolution. Yet it does constitute a crisis so important and so dangerous, that a coalition of the Conservative party with the Radicals in order to destroy the moderate Liberals may lead to consequences which hereafter will stamp it as one of the great crimes of English history. Great crimes never present themselves in their full magnitude at the time of their commission. There is a paroxysm of passion, and a momentary half-blindness to the character of the action and its necessary results; and the thing is done past recall or cure. If the moderate Liberal party falls now through an alliance of the vindictive Tories with the Radicals, it falls for ever; and Toryism will be left face to face with the Radicals and the people.

The constant policy of the Conservative party under its old, was the exact reverse of its constant policy under its new leaders. Under its old leaders, it on every occasion supported the moderate portion of its opponents against the extreme section of their own supporters. By this conduct it no doubt often missed the opportunity of tripping up the Whigs and ejecting them from office by going into the lobby at the tail of HUME or O'CONNELL. But, as a compensation, it rapidly and steadily improved its moral position in the country, and, by the evidence which it thus gave of its being actuated by high public principle alone, perpetually drew new converts to its ranks. Nor did it forego much, even in regard to the mere possession of office, by a policy which preserved its dignity and honour as a party; for upon each occasion the Whigs, after being ejected by the coalition of the Conservatives with the Radicals, would have repurchased the support of the Radicals by some new democratic concession, and their combined forces would have speedily recovered the lost position. But, under the new leaders, these principles of action have been entirely abandoned, and the constant

policy of the party has been to form combinations, wherever the opportunity offered, with the Radicals, and to eject moderate Liberal Governments by the aid of these fatal allies. The first instance of this new policy occurred in the very formation of the Protectionist section, when a Free-trade Conservative Government was thrown out by a coalition of the Protectionist Tories with the Whigs and O'CONNELL against the Coercion Bill. This proceeding has been condemned by Lord DERBY himself, upon mature reflection, as savouring too much of vindictiveness. Yet it has proved the keynote of his whole policy, or rather of the policy of those who lead in his name. Factious coalitions with the extreme Left have constituted the sum and substance of the Conservative tactics, from the commencement of the present dynasty down to the time when the party obtained a twelve-month's tenure of office by turning round and voting with Mr. MILNER GIBSON against the second reading of a measure which their own leaders had loudly demanded, for the first reading of which they had all voted, and for the second reading of which some of their number, ignorant of the contemplated manœuvre, had actually paired.

The effect of this trickery—for it deserves no better name, and never was resorted to by any man who had the least pretension to the name of statesman—has been invariably the same. The moral strength of the Conservative party has on every occasion been diminished, the consequence and power of the Radicals have on every occasion been increased, and on every occasion the moderate Liberals have been thrown more into the hands of the extreme section of the party, and compelled to purchase its adhesion by concessions more fatal to every thing which a Conservative is supposed to desire. Mr. BRIGHT owes his present weakness to the reckless violence of his own tongue. His previous strength he owed in great measure to the homage paid him by Conservative leaders courting his support against the Whigs. To win his Sepoy heart it was that an English Government condescended to commit an act of official perfidy unexampled in the worst periods of our Parliamentary history, by publishing a violent attack upon the GOVERNOR-GENERAL of India when engaged in a desperate conflict with the public enemy. The compliments paid by the Conservative and Protectionist leader to the great demagogue and the great enemy of Protection in the debate which ensued, made more evident the tacit alliance which the disclosure of the despatch had already betrayed; and Mr. BRIGHT might well desire the Whigs, as he did, to observe that he was not to be excluded from office with impunity when he had the Conservative party virtually at his back. The attacks made upon Lord ABERDEEN when on the brink of war with Russia, and the violent appeals addressed in the course of those attacks to the passions of the revolutionary war party, were a still more guilty and a still more fatal instance of the same suicidal strategy. And the criminality of the Conservative leaders on that deplorable occasion was the more remarkable because it was contrasted with the steady support lent to a Peace Minister, in spite of mortified ambition, by the honest fanaticism of Mr. BRIGHT. We believe the prophet of *Coningsby* and *Sybil* has succeeded in persuading some of the Tory landowners that their interests are really identical with those of the Radicals and Chartists, and that the great enemy of both is the Conservative middle class. If so, of course the combination of which we have been speaking is not unnatural nor obnoxious to the dictum that "England does not love coalitions." But in that case the sooner an open union takes place the better, and LORD DERBY should be warned, on this as well as on more obvious grounds, to abstain from talking about the Sovereign's insuperable objection to a Ministry including Mr. BRIGHT.

The power of the Conservatives in the present Parliament is great, and, if wisely and patriotically used, may give them a powerful voice in determining the constitution of Parliaments for the future. How it will be used depends on the comparative influence of the different leaders of the party. From the leader in the House of Commons we hear the most barefaced avowal of the doctrine of unprincipled opposition—a doctrine which would place the members of a political party on a level with the crew of a privateer. And the preacher of this frank morality has hitherto been evidently the guiding spirit of the whole body. The entire policy of the party has borne the strong impress of his moral peculiarities and his especial gifts. It has also borne the impress of his intellectual necessities—being, as he is, a statesman who has passed his life in the

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study, not of the public business, but of satire and invective, and who, though thirty years a member of the House of Commons, and fourteen years leader of a party in it, has not only never carried any practical measure of his own framing, but has never seriously proposed one to the House. To Mr. DISRAELI the Conservative party owes the fatal rupture in 1846, which, but for his active machinations and assiduous infusions, would probably not have exceeded the measure of a transient estrangement. To him that party also owes fourteen years of banishment from power, diversified by two ephemeral Administrations, in the first of which it ignominiously struck the flag of Protection, while in the second it committed the gravest of all errors, and forfeited a position of peculiar strength by a hypocritical adoption of the Whig demagogue's bantling of Parliamentary Reform. The debt of gratitude due for these services, and for the estrangement of England from her most conservative ally by the Russian War, will assuredly be increased to a tremendous amount this session if the programme of "vigilance" and "criticism," without regard to "great questions," traced at the Liverpool banquet, is allowed to be carried into effect. But Lord DERBY, sobered perhaps by the presence of real dangers, and perceiving that the stage-lights by which the farce of *Vivian Grey* is played are beginning to burn rather blue, inclines to more patriotic and moderate counsels. He inclines to lend honest aid in the settlement of the Reform question to a Government embracing Conservative elements, and in which, be it observed, the landed interest is as fully represented as it can expect to be in the settlement of any national question. Unfortunately, Lord DERBY's inclinations, when speaking for himself and in his calmer hours, are by no means a guarantee for his resolutions when pressed by adherents craving for place, and amidst the actual excitement of the political "turf." Yet, when the crisis arrives, he may perhaps be confirmed in his better mind if he will reflect that he has already been made responsible for the commission of the Conservative party to a great extension of the suffrage, and for the consequences of the Russian war.

#### ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

THE rumours of negotiations with France seem for the present to have died away, and there is, we trust, no longer any reason to apprehend the formation of an embarrassing alliance. It is not difficult to understand that plausible reasons may have been urged in favour of positive engagements with the Emperor NAPOLEON. His recent declarations are so entirely consistent with English opinion that they may perhaps have been represented as concessions to the representations of Lord JOHN RUSSELL and his colleagues. At first sight it might seem invidious to decline responsibility, and at the same time to persevere in the earnest expression of sympathy; but on the whole there is abundant reason for protesting against a contract which must be objectionable as soon as it ceases to be superfluous. A preliminary objection consists in the circumstance that the execution of any resolutions which might be jointly adopted must necessarily devolve exclusively upon France, and it would be impossible to control the acts of an independent and powerful ally. In great political undertakings the position of a sleeping partner is neither honourable nor safe; and in the case of Italy there would be no dividend of glory or of profit to compensate for the numerous liabilities involved in a treaty of alliance. Notwithstanding the cordiality of the present relations between the two Governments, it is by no means certain that the policy of France and that of England are in all respects the same. Only three weeks ago, the Emperor NAPOLEON proposed to guarantee the remaining States of the Church, on condition that the POPE should acknowledge the independence of Romagna. A participation in the offer would have involved a possible invasion of Umbria or of the Marches of Ancona, to put down a popular insurrection as justifiable as the revolution which has been already accomplished. Having taken no part against the Holy See—unless, according to Dr. CULLEN's veracious assertion, the Bible Society has afforded aid to the insurgents—the English nation will assuredly not afford the slightest support to the tottering fabric of ecclesiastical domination. The POPE has fortunately relieved the Emperor of the FRENCH from the obligation of carrying out his proposal, but the offer of a guarantee proves that an active co-operation between England and France would be altogether impracticable.

At the time when the negotiations were most active, the scheme of an Italian Federation had not been wholly abandoned, or, in other words, the amalgamation of Central Italy with the Northern Kingdom was still considered by the French Government objectionable. A treaty of alliance would, therefore, have pledged England to a decision which is both unjust in itself and in the highest degree distasteful to those whom it concerns. All the advantages which have been obtained by Italy are provisional and insecure, until an indigenous Power has been organized to render all foreign intervention unnecessary. It is possible that gratitude for practical services, and inability to resist an overwhelming influence, might have induced the Tuscans and the Romagnese to acquiesce in the dictation of France; but the gratuitous interference of England to resist the national will would have been resented as a wanton intrusion if it had succeeded, and, if it had proved ineffective, the dignity of the Government would have been seriously compromised. It would be difficult to suggest any active measure which could be adopted without giving rise to equally conclusive objections.

There is, in truth, nothing to be done except to allow Italy to settle its own affairs, and the return of Count CAVOUR to power justifies a hope that the independence of the nation will be consolidated without further obstacle. The Emperor of the FRENCH has shown sense and temper in receding successively from his pretensions to regulate the fortunes of the Peninsula. At Villafranca he confidently undertook to restore the fugitive Dukes, and at a much later period his agents declared that he would never allow the dismemberment of the Papal territory. After acquiescing in the right of Modena and of Romagna to change their form of Government, NAPOLEON III. perhaps still hesitates to allow the annexation on which the leaders of the revolution are bent. It may probably have been in the hope of establishing a Central Italian State that he lately sought the active assistance of England, and yet there is no project which ought to be more distasteful to any prudent European statesman. It may be admitted that the current of French political tradition is uniform in its opposition to the creation of a strong Power in Italy; but it is doubtful whether the true interests of France are consulted by a policy which is intrinsically turbulent and aggressive. It is absurd to suppose that the French frontier can really be endangered by the neighbourhood of a State with ten or twelve millions of inhabitants. It is only to the south and east of the Alps that a French army could have any collision with Piedmont to fear. Whatever may have been the real or supposed interest of HENRY IV. or of LOUIS XIV., the prosperity of modern France will be best promoted by the removal of all temptation to foreign invasion. When Spain and Germany have, from various causes, been unable to protect their own independence, war has always been impending on the Pyrenees and the Rhine. A central Italian principality placed between Piedmont and Naples would involve incessant negotiations and intrigues, especially if the POPE retained any portion of his dominions under French protection. If the Emperor NAPOLEON shares in the desire of his predecessors to keep Italy divided, his neighbours and allies can have no possible motive for encouraging a policy which is wholly opposed to the interests of peace. The establishment of a weak Government at Florence would be a misfortune if it had been effected; and in the mean time the difficulty of instituting the system may of itself be insurmountable. The people of Central Italy can scarcely be compelled to elect a dynasty, and they would certainly not gratify the great Powers of Europe if they formed themselves into a Republic. Patience and perseverance have already served them so well that they are not likely to facilitate the task of a patron by too ready an acceptance of his suggestions. They demanded annexation when a Ministry of provincial tendencies was in power at Turin, and they will not renounce their purpose when the KING has openly proclaimed his intention of furthering it by the recall of CAVOUR to his councils. No foreign alliance is necessary to express the hearty desire of England for the success of the national cause. The only object of such a compact would be interference, and Italy now requires nothing better than to be altogether let alone.

It must not be assumed that the ultimate share of England in the settlement of the Italian question will be confined to the easy duty of passive acquiescence. The English alliance is secured to France, without the necessity of any formal engagement, if at any time it becomes necessary to secure the Central provinces from renewed attempts at

foreign coercion. When the proposed Kingdom is once constituted, it will become to every Government which may recognise it an element in the legal system of Europe. The same principle which involves the right of a nation to regulate its own internal affairs, entitles it to protection and assistance against invasion from abroad. In revolutionary times, it is proper to wait for a result which seems likely to be permanent, without allowing sympathy for either party to disturb practical neutrality. As far as foreigners are concerned, the GRAND DUKE and the POPE had a perfect right to recover their lost dominions. On the same ground, their former subjects are entitled to enjoy the independence which they have been fortunate enough to win and to maintain. As soon as their chosen Government has taken its place in the commonwealth of nations, it may fairly be guaranteed against aggressions which would be as unjustifiable as if they were directed against Holland or against Portugal. The obligation to protect an independent State of course becomes less burdensome in proportion to the intrinsic strength of which it can dispose. A guarantee of a petty kingdom in Central Italy would entail a perceptible risk on the sureties, while Piedmont, strengthened by the proposed additions, would, under ordinary circumstances, be exempt from attack.

The reasons against a separate treaty are fortunately compatible with courtesy and good will to a potentate who has not of late deserved the censure of England. It must be quite unnecessary, in rejecting his proposals, to refer to former causes of suspicion, or to point out the inconvenience of adopting a policy which is incessantly shifting. It would have been impossible to approve of his attack on Austria, of the stipulations of Villafranca, or of the remonstrances which have been repeatedly addressed to the patriotic party in Italy. When a conjuncture happily occurs in which almost all causes of difference seem to be removed, it is nevertheless unsafe to guarantee the future coincidence of the French curve with the English tangent. In his present course the Emperor NAPOLEON ensures the good will of England, and he might even rely on active support in the only case which could justify a violation of absolute neutrality. In the meantime, it is unnecessary to enter into reciprocal obligations to persist in doing nothing; and as long as the Italian people are allowed by others to act for themselves, anything which could be done would be an unwarrantable interference.

#### THE ROMAN CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION ACT.

IT would be well if nations and classes gave up expecting gratitude in return for the great acts of justice which they occasionally concede to one another. Gratitude, in fact, is very feebly felt by men in masses; nor, if it were found oftener and more vivid than it is, would it be a very healthy or creditable sentiment. We cannot deny that it was something like a sound national pride which led the French Legitimists to repudiate their obligations to this country after their Restoration in 1814—which made the Spaniards almost persuade themselves that there never was a British army in Spain during the Peninsular war—and which more recently tempted the Austrians to adopt a policy towards Russia which, in SCHWARTZENBURG's language, should "startle the world by its ingratitude." People who are replaced in what they are accustomed to consider their natural rights are even less disposed to confess a mild thankfulness to those who have served them. The Italians will certainly be ungrateful to the Emperor of the FRENCH. The Irish are assuredly most ungrateful for the Emancipation Act. We say deliberately that it is better they should be so, and that much more may be expected from them than if they had patiently allowed themselves to be estopped by their enfranchisement from battling for their religious opinions, however wrong-headed, and for their political crotchets, however perverse.

The advantages which England has received from the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act are almost incalculable, though they do not include the sentimental pleasure which Irish gratitude might have caused us. Nor are they less valuable because they are mostly negative. We owe to that victory over our prejudices the fact that for thirty years our national life has not been poisoned, and our national exertions not paralysed, by the consciousness of wilful injustice. We owe to it that we have been able to give the rein, without hesitation or check, to our keenest sympathies and healthiest enthusiasms. We owe to it our deliverance from almost innumerable false positions. Without this homage to justice we could not, unless we had carried self-deceit or hypocrisy

to its climax, have hoped for Italy or sorrowed for Poland and Hungary. We could not have commenced the Crimean war without allowing that the affected bigotry of the Emperor NICHOLAS was reasonable, nor could we have concluded it with stipulations for the relief of the Greek Christians from the oppression of the Turks. It is perfectly clear, indeed, that no one national act of this country would have been what it was if we had continued to admit the principle that one nation or class can legitimately depress another nation or class on the score of religious differences. On such assumptions the history of thirty years would have to be rewritten. It would, so far as England is concerned, have begun differently, and have ended differently. If the Emancipation Act had not been passed, we could not, in 1831 and 1832, have acceded to the protocols which legalized the separation of Belgium from Holland; nor could we, in 1860, have denied the POPE's pretensions to refuse all the primary rights of man to his subjects, lest clerical supremacy should be jeopardized. As it is, the false position we should have been involved in at this moment is exactly that with which the Irish priesthood is struggling.

The value of national unity is felt chiefly in a nation's foreign transactions. But the unity which the Emancipation Act conferred on Great Britain has also given to many domestic measures a moral importance and a chance of duration which could not otherwise have belonged to them. The Reform Act, for instance, and the repeal of the Corn-laws, have gained immensely in solemnity and stability from being passed with the formal acquiescence of the Roman Catholic minority, as well as that of the Protestant majority. The only drawback on these advantages is one of which the seriousness is gradually disappearing. It is true that Irish factiousness and Roman Catholic impracticability are inconveniences, and great ones. But it was foolish to expect that constituencies and representatives could be passed through the fire of the Catholic disabilities without losing something of the fine edge which is essential to the even working of the Parliamentary system. When the admission of Roman Catholics to the Legislature showed for the first time the true effects of the penal laws on Irish character, it became evident that the Irish had inherited, from a century and a half of common sufferings, a capacity for common political action which might have proved a danger of the first magnitude to the State. O'CONNELL wielded an organized power which might have seriously shaken the British Constitution if the man himself, in spite of his big language, had not been a vast deal more remarkable for slyness and caution than for courage. On his death, his leadership fell into much more reckless hands, but then the results of thirty years of freedom showed themselves, and it turned out that Ireland was no longer at the command of any single agitator. If SMITH O'BRIEN, MITCHELL, and MEAGHER were contemptible under circumstances which had made O'CONNELL formidable, the enfranchisement of the Roman Catholics ought to have the credit of the difference. At the present moment, thirty years after the cessation of the disabilities, it is remarkable that Ireland can no longer be combined for any merely political object. It requires the strong stimulus of religious zeal to produce a movement worth four-and-twenty hours' attention; and even now, how feeble, pale, and inarticulate is the disturbance, compared with the very smallest of O'CONNELL's agitations! If it has attracted the notice of the English observer, it has done so infinitely more from the extravagance of the language employed than from the size, number, or fierceness of the mobs which have done duty as audiences. Yet the occasion is certainly one which might well call forth the fanaticism of an earnestly believing Roman Catholic population. The Papacy is, in fact, passing through one of those crises which the great historian just removed from among us has described as having a periodical recurrence in its history. But the great tribulation which the Ultramontanists believe to have come on the earth has scarcely disturbed Irish feeling more deeply than did the Irish pedigree of Marshal MACMAHON. The priests have not done much, and their ascendancy—which is the last ascendancy likely to trouble Ireland—will assuredly not be of long duration. Where there is fair play, and no crowned bigot to throw the sword of the civil power into the balance, clergymen are never able very long to exercise a political dictatorship over laymen. Human nature has fortunately provided ample security against that particular danger.

It is not, therefore, sufficient for English journalists, when they point at all this priestly violence as an unsatisfactory

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result of the Emancipation Act, to conclude their lamentations with the cold assurance that they do not wish the Act to be repealed. The Act still keeps its place as one of the wisest, most generous, and most politic of the laws enrolled in the Statute-book. What was true of it at the time of its passing is true of it now, and the power of distinguishing its real character and results is still the test which discriminates the statesman, or the man imbued with the spirit of statesmanship, from the short-sighted zealot who is taken by the mere temporary froth on the surface of public affairs. It is as true as ever it was that the supporters of Roman Catholic enfranchisement were the flower of their generation. It is as true as ever it was that GREY, GRENVILLE, BROUGHAM, and CANNING were as sagacious as they were generous and straight-forward in their view of this subject—that PEELE would have died a second-rate politician but for his great act of repentance—that Lord WESTMORELAND and Lord ELDON deserved all the contemptuous treatment which they received, the one for his stupidity and the other for his craft. And it is as plain as it was two years ago that the dullest men of our own day are those who still declaim against the justice done to the Roman Catholics. The *Times*, which has undertaken to rehabilitate the memory of Lords ELDON and WESTMORELAND, ought to re-establish the equivocal credit of such living authorities as Sir CULLING EARDLEY and Mr. NEWDEGATE. About a fortnight since, when an eminent Roman Catholic gentleman was attempting to reconcile his allegiance to the head of his Church with his affection for political liberty, he was told that he was only distinguished from Drs. CULLEN and DIXON by applying to the Papal question a feeble logic than they do. It may be retorted on the *Times* that it is only distinguished from Messrs. NEWDEGATE and SPOONER by employing a feeble logic than theirs. If much of its language is justifiable, it ought to call out for the repeal of the Emancipation Act.

#### THE MANCHESTER MEMORIAL ON MARITIME LAW.

THE Manchester Chamber of Commerce has presented a memorial to the Government in favour of the exemption of mercantile vessels from capture in time of war. Similar proposals have been frequently put forward since the Congress of Paris; and although any immediate resolution would be premature, the whole system of maritime law, as it affects belligerents and neutrals, deserves serious consideration. All restrictions on the extreme use of force against enemies by land or sea are to be regarded as positive enactments, established by convention, or more frequently by custom and tacit consent. In default of special limitations, war operates as a dissolution of all the bonds of society. The lives and property of the vanquished are forfeit to the victors, nor is any distinction between public and private possessions, or between combatants and non-combatants, admitted either in theory or practice. Such is the primitive and simple character of the war which the Moors are now waging against the invaders of their country, while the more civilized Spaniards, although they find it necessary in turn to bayonet the Moors, very properly offer them quarter in their proclamations and general orders. Among European nations the lives of prisoners have for some centuries been habitually spared, and although the immunity of private property is subject to frequent violations, nearly all commanders offer some protection to the unoffending inhabitants of an enemy's country. The Manchester memorialists repeat the common-place argument, that foreign commerce ought to enjoy the same exemption which applies to farming stock or to warehoused goods. It is the business of statesmen to examine the completeness of the alleged analogy, and afterwards to consider whether, in the particular case, consistency is right and expedient. There are certainly some external points of difference between ships and terrestrial moveables. The owner of cows or of ricks must keep them in a country which may be invaded, while a merchant is not absolutely compelled in time of war to send his goods to a foreign market. It may also be observed that women and children swarm in towns and villages, and that they are seldom or never captured at sea. Sailors, unlike the promiscuous herd of landmen, form a distinct profession; and as long as the present laws of war are maintained, the risk of capture is included among the recognised contingencies of their calling. There is little advantage in pursuing either the parallel or the contrast, for the partial maintenance of peace in the midst of war is only an artificial institution, produced and regulated by general expediency, or by the

special interest of some powerful nation. If the strength of England is likely to be diminished by further relaxations of the maritime code, arguments and rhetorical protests against the capture of trading vessels will not create any practical impression.

The merchants and warehousemen of Manchester are not to be treated with disrespect because they may be supposed to think more of their own future security than of the greatness and military success of their country. The public interest is in this instance identical with the sum of private advantage which may result from the adoption of any project of maritime law. During the great struggle with France the merchants were the steadiest supporters of the old system of preponderance and monopoly at sea. The city of London uniformly applauded the policy of PITT, and demanded at an early period the rupture of the Peace of Amiens. If it had been possible, in the time of NAPOLEON, to suggest the exemption of French ships from capture, every foreign trader in England would have been loud in the denunciation of a treasonable leaning to the interests of the enemy. The merits of the proposed changes have not yet been fully considered, but if London, Liverpool, and Hull concur in the opinions of Manchester, it may fairly be inferred that a new element has been introduced into the maritime controversy. The system of prohibition was intimately connected with the practice of making war on foreign commerce, and it is not surprising that habitual freedom of competition should produce a disinclination to the violent repression of rivalry. English trade obtained a great and unmixed advantage by the new stipulations of Paris, for the renunciation of the right to seize an enemy's goods in a neutral bottom was almost as profitable as the abolition of privateering among European States. The transaction was equivalent to the purchase of a valuable policy of insurance by the sacrifice of a share in a joint-stock company about to be wound up in the Court of Chancery. In the contingency of a war with France, which could alone bring the new arrangement into practical operation, the English Government will henceforth be spared the necessity of a rupture with America, and at the same time the commerce of the country will enjoy comparative security. Towards the end of the great war, French privateers lived upon the trade of England, while French commerce was exempt from interruption, inasmuch as it was almost annihilated. An agreement between a millionaire and a pauper to abstain from mutual encroachment redounds almost exclusively to the benefit of the wealthier party. It is not surprising that sanguine minds should be bent on the completion of a change which, in its present form, presents so much obvious advantage.

The most favourable arrangement for English interests is that which was some time since proposed by the American Government, and hastily withdrawn as soon as it seemed likely to be accepted. Mr. MARCY offered, during the Presidency of Mr. PIERCE, to abandon the system of privateering on condition that all commercial vessels should in the open sea be exempt from capture. Lord PALMERSTON intimated his approval of a plan which would enable England to blockade every American port, while her own vessels crossed the Ocean in perfect security. It was necessary, however, to consult the wishes of the Powers who had signed the Treaty of Paris; and before any practical steps could be taken, the American Government retracted a proposal which had probably only been advanced in the hope that it might be rejected. It would be unreasonable to expect, on any future occasion, that foreign nations will consent to a system which is exclusively adapted to the convenience of the greatest maritime Power. Even if Mr. MARCY's scheme had been carried out by a formal compact, a fresh controversy would have immediately arisen as to the right of blockading mere commercial ports; and as soon as England put in force the remaining portion of the ancient code, the easy morality of the States would have at once dispensed with any positive obligation to abstain from the use of privateers. The commercial marine of America is as large as that of England, and the facilities for fitting out privateers equal in either country, while the English navy is greatly the more powerful of the two. On both sides there is large material for plunder, and the predatory faculties of England considerably preponderate. There is therefore no reason for hurrying on a convention with the United States; and in Europe the state of the law has, by the arrangement of Paris, been largely modified in favour of this country. A war with France would at the outset cripple the enemy's

commercial marine by the operation of the naval conscription; and if the hostile fleet was put nearly on an equality with our own, scarcely any French seafaring population would remain for purposes of trade. The prospect of capturing commercial vessels would consequently be confined to French cruisers, and the absence of privateers would tend almost exclusively to the benefit of English merchants and ship-owners. The entire exemption of private property from capture, as proposed by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, would for similar reasons be chiefly a boon to the nation which has most to lose by the existing system. Nevertheless it will be prudent to pause before the abolition of a custom so ancient and universal that it must have originated in the necessity or convenience of belligerents.

The allegation that private property is exempt from seizure on land is far too sweeping in its terms. It would be more accurate to state that generals in command for the most part protect private property where there is no adequate object to be gained by the plunder of the population. NAPOLEON robbed Italy, Germany, and Spain with consistent pertinacity. His Treasury of the Army was filled with enormous sums levied from conquered countries, and in one year he forced twenty-five millions sterling from the exhausted population of Prussia alone. His brothers, his vassal kings, his generals, and his commissaries followed for their own benefit the example of their master; and though French cupidity and cruelty were odious in all parts of the Continent, it cannot be said that pillage, arson, and murder were ever regarded as peculiarly inconsistent with the laws of war. The English were at that time always making war in friendly countries, for even in the South of France the Duke of WELLINGTON professed to be acting in alliance with LOUIS XVIII. In the late Italian campaign, after the retreat of the Austrians to the east of the Ticino, both belligerents claimed the friendship and allegiance of the Lombard population. Whenever a real war of invasion recurs, requisitions of material and money will probably again vitiate the proposition that private property is exempt from violation. At present, the immunity has only been established in favour of public stocks, book-debts, and negotiable securities. During the Crimean war, the interest of the Russian loan was honourably paid to English creditors, and all commercial liabilities were wholly unaffected by the rupture. The kings and conquerors who framed the laws of war generally confined their plundering propensities to tangible property, and the opinion that private wealth has since acquired immunity from seizure on land is inaccurate or premature. No belligerent would hesitate to put an entire stop to any inland traffic which he might consider beneficial to an enemy. In future campaigns, railways will be at once occupied by invading armies; and the control of internal communication will be in many respects more effective than a blockade. In short, the laws of war on land depend in this respect on the convenience of the combatants; and it is difficult to apply an equally elastic rule to the code of maritime warfare. A ship which meets a hostile cruiser must be taken, or it must be allowed to pass. The compromise of levying a toll on the freight and cargo could hardly be provided by a general convention or law. If the enemy's merchant captain gave information or assistance to a ship-of-war of his own country, he would fall within the rigid laws which provide for the neutrality of non-combatants. NAPOLEON, who used to order his lieutenants to burn half-a-dozen villages and to shoot the principal inhabitants for the purpose of producing a moral impression on the neighbouring population, would not have been scrupulous in respecting the exemption which a foreign vessel might claim. As long as no formal rule is universally recognised on land, it will be difficult to establish a maritime law which must, if it is to prevail at all, be general and uniform in its provisions.

#### ENGLISH DUTIES IN RESPECT TO SLAVERY.

THE English Anti-Slavery Society is in the condition of Captain Gulliver's Struldbrug. Having once lived past the period at which it ought to have expired, it survives for purposes of pure mischief. A deplorable consequence of the extravagant language in which it systematically indulges has just been forced on our attention by a passage in President BUCHANAN'S Message. It is well known that the Anti-slavery gentlemen, in their anxiety to turn the West Indies into a sable Eden peopled with Christian negroes have maligned with steady virulence the attempt of the planters to mitigate their

sufferings by the introduction of Coolie labour. On the one hand, all the primary principles of fiscal and economical science have been set successively at defiance in arguments intended to show that the emancipated negro has a right to be defended from the competition of immigrants; on the other, the wildest fictions have been propagated concerning the system under which the Coolies are enlisted, and the treatment which they undergo from their employers. Here, at home, these fables have attracted little or no attention—not so much because they have lacked vociferous witnesses, as because the motives of the men who circulate them are thoroughly understood. But it has not been so in other countries. The Anti-slavery Society, in the days when it had a true existence, was too mighty a power not to retain some shadow of authority even now when it is only pretending to exist. There are foreigners who still attach some value to its statements, and among them are those Americans in the Northern States who, without approving of slavery, are nevertheless averse to an open quarrel with the slave-owners of the South. Mr. BUCHANAN is one of this class, and, indeed, is its political representative, and we now see that he either believes or affects to believe the descriptions of Coolie immigration to which the Anti-slavery Society has given currency. "The negroes of the South," he says, "are in a condition infinitely superior to that of the Coolies, whom many highly civilized nations are employing as their substitute." The Society may therefore congratulate itself on having contributed to the stock of Slavery polemics the most plausible argument which it includes. President BUCHANAN and his class, the leaders of the Northern Democratic party, may be considered to have the fate of the Southern slaves at their disposal. Did they once declare against slavery, the predominance of the South in the Union would be instantly destroyed, and the first step ensured towards the modification of the Southern labour system. Any man or body of men who supplies the ground of an opinion calculated to reconcile the consciences of the leading Democrats to their alliance with the South, adds a sensible number of years to the duration of American negro slavery.

The almost complete ignorance which prevails in England as to the condition of the West Indies is shown by the fact that an obscure clique of obscure men has been permitted to exercise such influence over their fate; but it is not safe to infer, from the inattention with which the islands are regarded in this country, that they are as obscure to a foreign eye. The reverse is the truth. In the Southern American States they are constantly scrutinized by anxious observers, and the Southern newspapers are always full of letters and paragraphs relating to them. It is quite certain that the phenomena of their condition which have most strongly impressed the American planters, and which have most confirmed them in their determination to fight against enfranchisement to the death, are exactly those which are most directly owing to the agitation of the English Anti-slavery Society. The influence of that Society, at first directed to emancipation, has, since the emancipation, been directed to constituting the West Indies a black monopoly. So far as it had the power, the Society has furnished impressive evidence that a country once cultivated by compulsory labour devolves, on the cessation of compulsion, to the former slaves from the former masters. The proofs of some degree of prosperity in the West India Islands which the Anti-slavery gentlemen sometimes condescend to publish, are exclusively proofs of prosperity among the blacks. Not only do their pamphlets confine themselves to totals and general statements which fail to show which is the class that is slightly improving, but they are full of the broadest admissions as to the impoverishment of the white planter. Now this may be all very satisfactory to the British philanthropist. He may be quite indifferent to the fact that it is the West Indian black who is rising on the ruin of the West Indian white; or he may even prefer the prosperity of a sable Christian, with a turn for cacophonous psalmody, to the prosperity of a white sugar-grower, who at best can only have forgiveness for the Anti-slavery Society. But the planters of the Southern American States may be excused for taking a different view of these matters. They wish to know what will become of them in case they are deprived of slave-labour. On looking at the country which is in the exact state they wish to understand, they find the white race succumbing to the black. They see no place for themselves in a society no longer organized on the footing of slaves serving freemen. They hear of one expedient by which the terrible crisis of emancipation can

be bridged over; but they see the Anti-slavery agitators as busily engaged in abusing it as ever they were in combating slavery itself; and they are told that it involves as much suffering to the new labouring class which it introduces, as ever servitude did to the old. Who will venture to blame them for concluding that it would be folly to budge an inch before the Emancipationists?

It would be well if Englishmen cleared up the confusion of their ideas on the subject of slavery. Nothing can be absurder than their periodical displays of sympathy with the American Abolitionists. Nothing can be absurder, and nothing can be more injurious. The suspicion that an Abolition policy is a British policy has much to do with the tenderness for slavery which still gives the South a foothold in the North. But though applause of *Uncle Tom* and clamorous good wishes for Colonel FREMONT are pernicious to the cause they are intended to assist, there is one service we might certainly lend to the American Emancipationists. Let us help them by showing that negro enfranchisement is not necessarily fatal to the white race in slave-owning countries. In this we have a direct responsibility. We, among all the nations of the world, are charged with the duty of showing that emancipation of the black may be reconciled with something short of absolute ruin to the white. If we cannot show this, we have failed in solving the most important part of the enfranchisement problem. Slavery in the British West Indies was a fleabite in comparison with slavery in the Southern States of America; and the extinction of the latter is impossible unless the point just indicated can be established. That the Southerners will naturally resist emancipation to the death if it involves their ruin, is scarcely worth the trouble of proving; but it is a far more important consideration that the wildest Northern Abolitionists would never desire, and have never desired, the enfranchisement of the negro in the belief that it could possibly lead to such a result. Our duty lies therefore in the West Indies. We have to devise the means of restoring prosperity to the white planter, not by artificial interferences with the laws of trade, but by encouraging him in his attempt to avail himself of natural resources, and by the steady discouragement of the fanatical calumnies by which his experiments are assailed. The Coolie immigration is the most blameless of these experiments. These labourers are taken from countries in which their earnings are so miserable that they baffle the mind by their smallness, just as astronomical distances baffle it by their immensity; they are protected during their voyage to the West Indies and their stay there by legislation of extraordinary minuteness and stringency; and they carry home with them savings which can only not be said to amount to competence, because they may more justly be described as wealth.

#### OUR FRIEND OVER THE WATER.

THE chesnut of the Italian question is hot and hissing in the fire. The Imperial countenance is overcast with a cloud of anxiety as to the future destinies of the human race. Suddenly you find yourself stroked in the most affectionate and endearing manner. The French press is ordered to restrain its abuse. Mr. COBDEN has an interview with Majesty. The increase of the French navy is explained to be only a "transformation." The flat-bottomed boats are only to carry coal. The transports are really for Cochin China this time. The surplus of the loan shall go to public buildings: And, above all, there shall be a Free-trade budget and a commercial treaty. You feel supremely satisfied and happy, when in goes your paw, and in a moment the chesnut is in the Imperial cheek, while you are left embroiled with all the Roman Catholic Powers of Europe, and with a rebellion in Ireland, patronized by France, upon your hands. If this is not the result of what has been going on between England and the French EMPEROR, it is not for want of dexterity in cajoling on the one side, or of willingness to be cajoled on the other. But we hope that Heaven has at last sent us diplomatists sensible of the vigour, the energy, the grandeur of doing nothing when there is nothing but mischief to be done.

If anybody breaks the law of nations, let us fight in its defence. Let us at least do what we have hitherto been pleased to call fighting—get together a number of rustics, put suffocation collars round their necks, pay them sixpence a day, and send them to fight for us. And if the French EMPEROR is ready to stand by us in this quarrel, let us stand by him, and not only or particularly by him, but equally by

all who chose to uphold the right. The only difficulty in taking him as an ally in the cause of national independence is that one of the grossest violators of the independence of nations is the master of the army which occupies Rome. But we object to being taxed and harassed, and having our friends and relations shot and shovelled into trenches, for the love or fear of LOUIS BONAPARTE, or for the present colour of that beautifully iridescent object, the Napoleonic idea. As to the special quarrel between the EMPEROR and the POPE, or between the Empire and the Papacy, we should be utter fools to spend a shilling or a drop of blood on one side or the other. If either must win, perhaps the victory of the POPE is rather the less to be dreaded of the two. The Papacy is old and decrepit, supported by nothing but the patronage of Austria, now herself on the point of dissolution, and the ancient fanaticism which lingers, and only lingers, in Spain. The French despotism is a young and vigorous power of evil in the world, active, energetic, and propagating, and backed by the entire strength of a great nation which finds a military constitution the most conducive to its cherished designs against the peace and honour of the world. That LOUIS NAPOLEON's two lines of intrigue—the revolutionary line and the reactionary line—should have become entangled with each other, that he should be getting embroiled with the priests whom he hypocritically served and who as hypocritically served him, is a welcome proof that a moral power, and not the "star" of a family of sharpers, still rules the affairs of men. England has only to let well alone, and be content to pray that in this auspicious conflict both parties may be endowed with the resolution to pull hard, and that all the blows may be heavy where none can fall amiss for the interest of mankind.

Will the French EMPEROR never be able to establish a character? Even in his last letter to the POPE he gives assurances of his sincerity and veracity sufficient to satisfy any reasonable mind. He positively asserts that he made peace after Solferino lest the further progress of the revolutionary movement in Italy should endanger the dominions of the POPE. How long is it since he as positively asserted that his reason for making peace was the hostility of the neutral Powers, and held up England and Prussia to the hatred of the French nation for having crossed what it imagined to be its victorious career? The professions which the letter contains of personal attachment to the Holy See and the Catholic religion are, as we all know, equally veracious. LOUIS NAPOLEON has used religion and the Church as his uncle used them—for his own purposes—having himself notoriously no Church or creed whatever, except that worship of his destiny which is, in fact, delirious vanity worshipping itself. The hearts of all the priests of Europe leapt with joy when they saw the brute force of a military tyrant trampling down liberty and truth; and all the priests of Europe have now received their meet reward. But the retribution is not the less gross perfidy, coming from the hand from which it comes. Who courted the great immoral hero of reaction more than our Tory party? Who outraged all honour and chivalry more grossly than they did to pay him homage? Only the other day, the leader of their party in the House of Commons was carrying to Plombières a fresh offering of that sycophancy of which, to do him justice, he is fully as great a master as he is of vituperation. Yet the Tory party is requited as the late Lord HERTFORD would have requited his faithful Swiss valet if he had happened to have no further occasion for his dignified services. It is coolly held up to Mr. COBDEN, and through him to the English nation, as endeavouring to sow discord between France and England for foul and selfish ends: But why need we resort to inferences or appeal to what is past? The avowed object of the French EMPEROR in all that he is now doing is to avoid the observance of the article in the treaty of Villafranca providing for the restoration of the expelled Grand Dukes—an article detestable enough, but which he accepted as an escape from a desperate position and most solemnly bound himself to observe. "Hitherto I have been somewhat perfidious; but now if you will only believe my word, and help me to commit one or two more acts of perfidy which my circumstances make very convenient, you shall find me an honest man for ever." Let a man say this in private life, and sense and honour alike will give him a prompt reply. But in diplomacy two and two are five, and twenty acts of treachery make a man of honour.

Far be it from us to imitate the perversity of Iago, who would not worship God if the Devil bid him. We are quite ready to worship God, even at the bidding of the Devil, though we may be pardoned for doubting a little whether

the bidding of the Devil is likely to prove identical with the worship of God. If LOUIS NAPOLEON is ready in any instance to do right, no matter from what motive, let us by all means support him in his good determination. If he adopts the policy of Free-trade, let us hail a policy which, whence-soever it may come, is wise and good, and reciprocate it to the utmost of our power. Our power of reciprocating it is unfortunately limited by the necessity of taxing imports for the maintenance of a great Channel fleet to protect our coasts against the enormous and uncalled-for armaments of the Imperial apostle of Free-trade. We shall not find, in the long run, that the fiat of despots, however beneficent, are so effectual for the emancipation of commerce, or for any other purpose of civilization, as the slow but deep and decisive tendencies of free nations. Still, let us accept the fiat of a despot for what it is worth, and applaud the subjugation of military force to the peaceful empire of ADAM SMITH and BASTIAT. Nor do we deprecate any jointaction with the French Government for useful objects, or for the maintenance of international principles, so long as it be straightforward, avowed, and openly carried on in the face of Europe and all honest men. But we do, in the name of sound policy and honour, deprecate personal intimacies, secret understandings, and separate connexions. England has armed, not only for security, but for dignity. She has armed that she may no longer be compelled to cringe and sue to every adventurer who happens to get his hand upon the trigger of French military ambition. Now, for once, let her policy before the world be that of an English gentleman, walking free and erect in the plain path of honour, and counting all honest men equally his friends. Or if we are to have a special friendship, let it be with some nation which stands in the same danger as ourselves. There is one, and only one, sure pledge of peace which LOUIS NAPOLEON can give. Let him reduce his enormous armaments, and we trust his word. He does the reverse, and thereby gives a pledge that, sooner or later, he, like every other man in the French army, looks forward to the renewal of aggressive war.

#### MR. BRIGHT'S GRIEVANCES.

**T**HERE is some foundation for Mr. BRIGHT's complaint that the language of his opponents has lately become stronger. Ever since he ran up the black flag at Liverpool, people have not cared to affect ignorance of his real character. Through the greater part of his career no man has received gentler treatment. The most virulent and aggressive harangues which have been listened to by English audiences since COBBETT's time used only to bring down fresh showers of compliment on his homely genius, his honesty of purpose, and his unwarped common-sense. But the mealy-mouthedness which prevailed so long as Mr. BRIGHT sailed under the sky-blue Peace-ensign, or cruised against the East India Company with the Royal standard at his mast-head, was dropped naturally enough when once the Rover had spoken out to his gallant crew. No more cannon-balls across his bows now, no more firing with unshot guns. Englishmen are, after all, not stupid; and, in all matters connected with the pocket, their perceptions are as quick as those of most nations. Is it possible that the proposer of the tax on realized property can have expected anything but broadside after broadside, as fast as the enemy can fire them?

If we understand the Birmingham speech, Mr. BRIGHT seems to think it particularly hard that his advocacy of Reform should have exposed him to attack beyond his other agitations. We perhaps have no right to affect interest in the Reform agitation; yet we cannot help asking, what Mr. BRIGHT has done for Reform? As he himself acknowledges, the measure which will probably be carried is not his. In fact, its history dates from a period before he was known to public life. Its pedigree can be traced to Lord JOHN RUSSELL's rash promises, and the credit of its near approach to success belongs to the general carelessness of English statesmen, and to the loose commonplaces on the extension of the franchise which have gradually obtained currency, nobody knows how. The authors of the coming Reform Bill have even less reason than the bulk of the community to be grateful to Mr. BRIGHT. All he has done for them is to jostle them violently on the platform, and to thrust his burly person between them and the labouring classes, shouting out all the while that what might have seemed an act of grace was only the tardy reparation of a gross injustice, and pointing out to the new electors the worst and most dangerous use which they could make of this privilege. If the working men come into

the suffrage with the impression of foul wrong suffered, and only now for the first time removed, whose fault is that but Mr. BRIGHT's? If a perfectly voluntary and entirely uncalled-for concession is received with the bitterness of heart which usually follows a hardly-won class victory, who will be to blame for it but Mr. BRIGHT? If the new constituency is instantly distracted with a quarrel between property and labour, in the shape of a question whether the whole expenditure of the country shall not be borne by one without aid from the other, who will have introduced this debasement into English politics except Mr. BRIGHT? The measure would have been carried in the form in which it will be carried though Mr. BRIGHT had never opened his lips. His share in promoting it has consisted in rendering it equally dangerous to social peace and to the material prosperity of the country.

It is an especial grievance of Mr. BRIGHT that the calumnies which he denounces have been directed against his recent fiscal proposition. Here, again, he has met with criticisms infinitely gentler than he might naturally have expected. The danger of his scheme has been pointed out, and the inequality of its application has been demonstrated; but its injustice—and we may add, its selfishness—have been barely alluded to. Has any one yet charged Mr. BRIGHT with expressly devising a system of taxation in order that men of his own order might be exempted from contribution to the public purse? Yet he so stated his plan, that either he is open to this accusation, or else the very lowest estimate must be placed on his intellectual powers. The Liverpool proposal is for a great tax on "realized" property. Unless the description is nonsensical, it implies that nothing is to be levied from capital which is embarked in trade conducted in the name of its possessor. If, therefore, three manufacturers—say Mr. BRIGHT and his brothers—have three hundred thousand pounds engaged in a cotton-mill, they will pay not one farthing of tax. But if three hundred persons, each with no more than a thousand pounds in the world, form themselves into a joint-stock company, and employ a manager to work the next mill to Mr. BRIGHT's, they will be taxed on the whole of their property. The distinction between property and "realized" property evidently resolves itself into the difference between capital invested in a business, actually or nominally, managed by oneself and capital embarked in a business avowedly managed by some one else on one's account. If this be not so, Mr. BRIGHT's project is a flat absurdity. For if shares in a joint-stock mill company are to be exempted, why not shares in the Great Western Hotel, and if shares in the Great Western Hotel, why not shares in the Great Northern Railway, in the St. Katharine's Docks, and in every joint enterprise throughout the kingdom? Nor is it possible to accept the result to which this reasoning leads. Mr. BRIGHT might, indeed, not object personally to drawing the entire taxation of the country from the landlord and the fundholder, but, even with the limitations which would reduce it to this shape, the plan is simply grotesque. If it were once settled that a definite portion of the public expenditure was to be defrayed by duties on Government stock, the funds would, of course, fall by the exact value of the perpetual annuity which they would be condemned to pay. Future purchasers would buy in at the reduced price, and the whole burden of the change of system would fall on the present fundholder—a measure exactly equivalent to confiscating about a third of the soil of the country and turning it into Crown lands. And even with respect to real property itself—at which Mr. BRIGHT is doubtless principally aiming—the proposal, in its utter impracticability, manifests the scantiest forethought; for land farmed by the owner himself is clearly to be exempted, as being merely the substratum of the business of corn-growing. A great landlord, therefore, has only to let his leases run out and call his farmers bailiffs, to be entirely released from the new impost. The only mode of escaping these consequences is by admitting that capital embarked in trade is to contribute with all the other forms of property. We may be perfectly certain, however, that this addition to his proposal will be repudiated by a gentleman who is a Rochdale manufacturer as well as a Birmingham agitator. When the proofs are absolutely under his nose, Mr. BRIGHT doubtless perceives that levying a heavy percentage on the manufacturing and trading capitalist is simply starving the labourer. He avoided this folly from the first, and deserves credit for it; yet what are we to say of the politician who saw no other objection than this to a tax on "realized" property?

## QUAKERISM.

THE last number of the *Christian Remembrancer* contains an article upon the present and the original condition of Quakerism which is full of curious information. The history and the present prospects of the Society, if described by a competent person, would form one of the most interesting of all subjects of inquiry. In their origin the Quakers were stigmatised as fanatics of the most unreasonable and intractable kind. In the last century they were treated with a certain respect by Voltaire and other writers of the same school, because it was supposed that their practices and principles were at once grossly absurd and in strict accordance with the New Testament. It appears to be the present impression of those who ought to know most about the subject that Quakerism is, for some reason or other, dying out, and that the renunciation of its external badges will speedily and inevitably be followed by its total extinction.

The principal point of the article to which we have alluded is that there is a great and most significant contrast between the early vigour and the present decay of Quakerism. There was some excuse, we are told, for believing in the divine mission of men who walked barefoot through the snow, denouncing "Woe to the bloody city of Lichfield," and of women who, feeling themselves under a concern to do so, travelled into Asia Minor for the purpose of delivering divine messages to the Sultan; but it is altogether impossible to recognise such gifts and graces in the most comfortable and businesslike subdivision of the English middle classes—in brewers, bankers, and stock-brokers, who are just like their neighbours in everything except a few traditional peculiarities which have no longer any significance or vitality.

It would require a special knowledge and study of the subject, to which we make no claim, to attempt to estimate the degree of truth which such representations as these may possess; but if we assume the truth of the broad statement that the last few years have been marked by a great decline in the vigour of Quakerism, and that there is a prospect that the process will continue to be indefinitely carried on, several reflections suggest themselves as to the causes which must have been influential in producing such a state of things, which possess considerable general interest. The broadest and most enduring characteristic of the religion of Protestants is to be found in its social and unascetic temper; and this characteristic has perhaps been more conspicuous in England than in any other part of Europe. Englishmen have never been accustomed to associate voluntary mortifications with sanctity, and they have been still less inclined to look upon politics and the other ordinary occupations of life as separated by any broad barrier from religious duty and practice. To this general temper of mind Quakerism has formed almost the only considerable exception. Whatever forms it may have assumed, and whatever special doctrines may have been connected with or imported into it, there can be no question as to the general temper in which its adherents have been in the habit of looking upon the world, and the affairs in the midst of which their lot is cast. No other English sect has approached so closely to theoretical asceticism. No other has drawn with so firm a hand the line between things carnal and things spiritual. No other has enjoined so decisively the duty of separation from the world and its interests as incumbent upon true Christians. The history of Quakerism may therefore be taken as being to some extent a history of the progress of asceticism in England; and in that point of view its fortunes have been very remarkable. It would be difficult—perhaps impossible—to cite any other instance of a sect which has stood in such marked and determined hostility to the whole genius of the nation to which its members belonged; and it is very curious to see how, notwithstanding all the efforts which they might make to the contrary, they have been compelled to go with the stream, and have ended by finding themselves in a position which is perhaps intrinsically as ludicrous as any which could be occupied by a religious body.

The theory of a Quaker's life was that he should separate himself as much as possible from all connexion with the external world, its relationships, its feelings, and its affairs—that he should concentrate himself upon the duties and emotions considered sacred by the society to which he belonged—and that he should pass that part of his time which was unavoidably consumed in the common business of life in some occupation which should have as little connexion as possible with any of the pursuits which excite the passions and enlist the sympathies of ordinary men. The Quakers tried, in a word, to live the life of Essenes in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This might have answered well enough in other times or in another country. In an age when commerce was a petty business conducted principally by small shopkeepers, or in which people could live upon the produce of their own lands tilled by their own labour, without bringing themselves into connexion in any way whatever with what ordinary people regard as the great interests of life, seclusion might have been possible, though the circumstances of the case might forbid a recourse to monasticism. It was very different in this country. The extreme vigour with which commerce has been prosecuted for the last two centuries, and the general unexpressed conviction which has always prevailed through all classes of society, that the conquest of difficulties—the production of results—success in some form or other—is one of the principal tests of the possession of the virtues of manliness, prudence, and honesty which no one really despises

or even undervalues, exercised an influence over the Quakers far too subtle for them to resist by any of the devices by which sects endeavour to perpetuate their creeds. The principal result which really followed from their peculiar views was to confine their energies to certain specified channels, to the exclusion of others which were distinguished from them by merely conventional distinctions. The Quaker was debarred from politics, but he might trade; and gradually he came to be one of the most acute and successful of all traders. He might take no part in worldly affairs or amusements; but by degrees a set of semi-worldly avocations were discovered which it was not only allowable but highly laudable for him to pursue. He was the very man for all sorts of benevolent and charitable associations. No one could preside at meetings and sit on the high places at platforms with more propriety and applause. Thus by degrees he worked his way into the full current of the ordinary life of that class of English society to which he belonged, and found himself *theeing* and *thouing* a society from which he was only distinguished by differences which were barely skin-deep. An Essene is in himself a respectable figure; but an Essene who sits in Parliament, and is the leader of the Radical party, or the senior partner of the greatest bill-broking firm in the city of London, and probably in the whole world, is in a position every bit as false and ludicrous as that of the stock monk of the novels of thirty years ago, who was bound by his vows to every sort of mortification, and had at the same time the best house, the best hounds, and the broadest lands in the county. It would of course be very absurd and very unjust to describe such a state of things as a proof of hypocrisy on the part of those in whose conduct the contradiction between theory and practice was most apparent. It is a proof of what is perhaps even more common—the ease, namely, with which people are carried past their principles by any influence subtle and general enough to prevent them from estimating its true bearing and tendency.

If this is a true account of the principal cause of that decline of Quakerism which appears to be admitted as a fact on all hands, it is a very remarkable illustration of the fundamental peculiarities of our national character. Sects of almost every other kind have increased and multiplied amongst us with a rapidity which must appear remarkable to every one, and which to some appears even ominous; but the history of Quakerism seems to suggest that there is a limit to this process. It would appear that the amount of divergency from the common standard of thought which it is possible to maintain is rather narrow, and that there is no direction in which such a divergency is likely to meet with so little toleration as that which leads people to care less than their neighbours are accustomed to care for the common pursuits and avocations of life. It is strange that this should be so, for there are few parts of the world in which asceticism does not flourish in some shape or another, and it is perhaps not altogether a satisfactory reflection that it should command absolutely no sympathy at all from this country and generation.

It may, perhaps, be presumptuous for any one who does not belong to the Society to express an opinion upon such a point, but to mere lookers-on the renunciation of the peculiarities of dress and language by which Quakers were so long distinguished seems to be a fatal sign. This follows not merely from the fact pointed out by the writer in the *Christian Remembrancer*, that such a step involves a renunciation of the inspired authority of George Fox—though this is by no means an unimportant observation—but from the admission which it makes that conformity with the common practices of the every-day world is in itself desirable. If a man's heart really is set upon asceticism—if he really does wish to live amongst things spiritually discerned, and to have no closer connexion with the pursuits of other men than is forced upon him by the material necessities of life—any external marks which distinguish him from his neighbours ought to be, and to be regarded as being, so many helps towards the object which he wishes to attain. The anxiety of modern Quakers to be like other people, to speak their language and to wear their dress, is the most convincing proof which they could possibly give that they really do resemble their neighbours, and that they are not distinguished from them by any peculiar gifts or aims. It is, no doubt, a very small matter whether a uniform is red or blue; but if a party of English soldiers serving with the French army, who had long been suspected of a wish to repudiate their country, were suddenly to discover that the French uniform was more convenient than their own, and that blue was a more rational colour for a soldier's coat than red, they would do a very significant act. The odd clothes and "plain language" were the outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual distinction of vast importance. When the visible peculiarity is abandoned, the natural inference is that the invisible peculiarity is no longer believed to exist.

## A NEGLECTED LINE OF STUDY.

SOME time ago an advertisement used to appear with great regularity, stating that any one who would send the advertiser half a crown might learn how to realize a handsome weekly income. An adventurous reader sent his half-crown and got his answer. It turned out that the secret consisted simply in selling hot potatoes. The maker of the handsome income was to stand in a leading thoroughfare from about three in the morning onwards; and carefully prepared statistics clearly showed that, if every passer-by stopped to eat, and the supply of hot potatoes

never failed, the profits would be highly encouraging. A pamphlet entitled *A Neglected Line of Study strongly recommended to the Rich* is almost as attractive as an advertisement offering to teach the art of making a fortune; and it happens that, when we get the pamphlet and see what this line of study is, we find the utility of our discovery about on a par with that of the great hot potato secret. The neglected line of study is the study of the small incomes of a portion of the English clergy. The writer laments most bitterly the afflictions, poverty, and misery of her clerical friends, and in her anxiety to relieve misfortune she evidently takes for granted that the number of hot potatoes in our pockets is unlimited. We have taken some pains to calculate what is the amount of money which she wants to carry out her benevolent wishes, and we find that the existing clergy could be made reasonably and comfortably prosperous, according to her notions, by a voluntary subscription on the part of the rich to the amount of three millions a-year. She does not, however, limit her intended kindness to those who can find employment in the ministry of the Church; and perhaps, to do justice to her scheme, it would be necessary to endow all persons whatever who were willing to take orders. But the heap of hot potatoes that she would then require is so extravagant and vast that we had better confine ourselves to the three millions asked on behalf of the occupied clergy. For this bagatelle the rich might have the comfort of creating a unique profession, every member of which would be enabled to marry respectably, and be paid extra in proportion to the number of children he was kind enough to bring into the world.

Every one knows that there is great poverty in many homes of English clergymen, and perhaps no tales of suffering are more heart-rending than those which paint the struggles of flickering gentility to keep itself alive, or the misery of a tender conscience on perceiving that external needs are preventing the due discharge of a solemn duty. It is one of those shocking things which are all the more shocking because they are half ludicrous, that hundreds of clergymen's families would be exceedingly thankful if we would give them our old clothes. To address as a gentleman, and treat as an equal, a person who you are aware would like to have the first refusal of the trousers in which you stand talking to him, is not a very easy matter. And if the position of the men abroad is humiliating, what must be that of the women at home? What terrible shifts, and depressions, and pain must they go through! The tales of clerical poverty that may be collected are endless. The authoress of this pamphlet gives a selection of the letters of clergymen applying to a society for relief. One states that his family were for weeks without a shilling in the house; another says that "he is now, in a word, penniless;" a third states that his daughter is dying, and that he "long ago foresaw the result to his children of the want of nutritious food;" a fourth writes that he cannot earn his bread, and consequently has to live with his mother-in-law, who is constantly reminding him that he owes everything to her; and so on. These are all cases of real unmistakable distress; and real distress, however brought about, is not to be treated lightly. But the question raised by the authoress does not deal with individual cases. She opens the wider argument—Who is to blame for this whole state of things, and what is the remedy? And she answers that the rich are to blame, and that the proper remedy is to let every clergyman marry, and make every married clergyman comfortable. In this we entirely disagree with her.

We are told that there are five thousand curates with incomes under 80*l.* a year, and five thousand incumbents with incomes under 150*l.* a year. We will not go into the many subsidiary questions which figures like these might lead to. Perhaps some incumbents may screw their curates—perhaps some incumbencies have a just claim to be raised in value by an allowance from the common funds of the Church, or from the pockets of rich parishioners. But we must keep to the main point. A young man proposing to take orders, and having no family connexion with patrons, and no private means, knows—or at least ought to know—that he will enter a profession in which there are ten thousand posts of which if he holds any one he has no business to think of marrying, and he may also reckon with tolerable certainty that one of these posts, and no better one, will fall to his lot. If, therefore, he wishes to do his duty as a clergyman he must remain a bachelor, unless he can find a wife with some little money of her own. This is one of the facts he has got to face—it is one of the conditions of his profession. Of course all men have not got the gift of celibacy. But what is meant by a clergyman having a call? The very notion of a call to the ministry seems to have died out in English society, and in no portion more than in the good pious circles to which the authoress of the pamphlet evidently belongs. A call has come to mean merely this—that if a young man has protracted his education, so that most avenues in life are closed to him, and if he has no intellectual doubts as to the teaching of the Church of England, he is at once obliged and entitled to take a curacy. A very great deal more than this ought to be understood by a call to the ministry; and one of the very first requisites is a capacity for celibacy. At three-and-twenty, a man has some notion whether he can lead a godly and useful life as a bachelor. A very large proportion of those who take orders could do so if they put it distinctly before them. But all the good women of their acquaintance hunt them into matrimony, either because they accept the general principle that clergymen ought to marry, or because personally they rather affect a curate. We wish the

curates who afterwards write to societies that they are penniless would ask themselves beforehand whether it can be really desirable, or even pardonable in them, that they should rear up a family in want of nutritious food, or shivering for want of blankets. Why should a clergyman, more than a layman, be encouraged to kill his offspring by hunger or cold? We must confess that we have considerable sympathy with the mother-in-law complained of in one of the letters we have mentioned. It is not pleasant to have to feed a man who has wantonly sacrificed the happiness of your daughter.

We do not pity bachelor clergymen half so much as lady writers seem inclined to do. They have professed themselves suited to a peculiar calling, and it is a calling which, pursued zealously, brings with it many pleasures and high esteem. Why should they say they cannot exist unless they marry? Thousands of educated laymen in England get on without marrying, and contentedly discharge the duties of their several stations; and if it is said that laymen do not impose on themselves the strictness they require of clergymen, the answer is obvious that the clergyman has proclaimed that he has a call to the office, and that he can show how all, clergy and lay alike, ought to live. We always come back to the point, that no clergyman ought to take orders unless he has such a constitution of body and mind as will enable him to live unmarried until he has obtained one of the posts that exceeds in value the ten thousand lowest posts of his profession. Practically, a friendless moneyless man, whether clergyman or layman, ought to set before himself the prospect of a perpetual celibacy. Nor is there any public gain in the marriage of poor clergymen to compensate for their private misery. It is an exceedingly good thing that the clergy should have the power of forming family ties, that their leaders should be married, and that the tone of thought which springs from family life should run through them. But happily the wealth and position of the Church of England has secured this. Almost every clergyman of ability, learning, activity, and zeal, gets into a position to marry, and he seldom misses the opportunity. By far the greater number of incumbents in the richer parts of England have adequate incomes, and the amount of money that is constantly flowing into the pockets of the clergy through the very natural wish of ladies of property to become the wives of clergymen is scarcely credible. There was not long ago a curacy in a well-known suburb where the curate was thought to have done badly unless he married his 40,000*l.* There is no real fear, therefore, lest the clergy in England should grow into a distinct isolated class like the clergy in Roman Catholic countries; and if we take the case of individuals, the advantages of a poor clergyman being unmarried are overwhelming. Burdened with cares, ill with anxiety, insecure of her position, and destitute of money, the wife can do nothing to aid him in parochial work. And the poor can no longer look to their pastor as a friend in distress. He is more ready to beg from them than they from him. He has no time or opportunity to improve his mind. He cannot afford books or papers. Perhaps he has to eke out a maintenance by some slight non-parochial work. He takes a pupil or two, and then there soon comes an end of zeal in the ministry. He grumbles like a parish doctor if an invalid sends for him, and almost persuades himself that his parishioners are doing him an injury if they claim that he should discharge his duty. Tastes differ, and to an incumbent with 150*l.* a year, a wife may seem better than health, leisure, ministerial usefulness, and the welfare of the poor; but there can be no question that, as far as his parishioners go, it would be greatly better if he declined the lady, lived in decent poverty, wore his own trousers, took in the *Times*, and had a five-pound note in hand when misfortunes came on his flock.

Of course there will always be hard cases. Clergymen, like other men, may have reasonable grounds for thinking they are entitled to marry, and then have unforeseen calamities. Generosity could not be better displayed than by giving largely under such circumstances; and a rich man might do more good by setting up again an unfortunate clergyman than by subscribing to a dozen societies. But these exceptional cases must not be taken into account when we are dealing with the general question; and we venture to pronounce a decided opinion that all pamphlets like this on the *Neglected Line of Study*, and all societies formed to carry out similar views, really tend to induce unsuitable persons to enter orders, and to make them neglect their parochial duties. Certainly, existing suffering cannot be neglected. If clergymen's families are perishing from want of food and clothing, we must help them, together with other poor people, so far as our means permit. But, like the poor curate's mother-in-law, we should let them know what we think of them and their conduct. Having professed a peculiar call for the noblest earthly vocation, they have chosen to place themselves in circumstances in which they must be false to the trust imposed on them. They shall have our old clothes, but certainly not our approval or encouragement. It is idle to think that existing incumbencies or curacies will receive any considerable addition to their present income. What the Church has to do in this generation is to carry its ministrations into localities where at present there is no provision for its ministers at all. The most that can be done is to provide such a stipend for the incumbents of new churches as will enable them to live in decency as bachelors. Either we must get a set of clergy who will only marry when marriage is compatible with clerical efficiency, or the

Church of England will dwindle into a feebleness which those who see the advantage of having the most learned and least bigoted clergy in the world to guard against the fanaticism of the masses, ought to do their utmost to prevent.

#### M. D'HAUSSONVILLE'S FOUR QUESTIONS.

UNDER the Government of Napoleon III. a Constitutional Opposition has been a thing almost unknown. He must be a clever man who can manage to annoy the Executive without transgressing the limits of legality. It is far easier, at Paris, to be a conspirator than a critic, and many a political antagonist, who might have satisfied himself under other circumstances with keeping up a legitimate agitation, is forced by the peculiarities of his position into sedition and intrigue. In English history, the greatest battles for reform and freedom have been fought with the weapons and in the very name of the constitution. English revolutions have been the reassertion of hereditary rights based on charter and on precedent, not the discovery of a new gospel. Not so in France. The Code Napoleon itself may be an embodiment of existing law quite as much as the creation of a fresh *corpus juris*, but it would be difficult for Frenchmen to point to many great principles anterior to those promulgated in 1789 which they can claim for sacred constitutional maxims. Since that date the French nation has changed its form of government often, and its rulers still oftener. Republics, monarchies, and empires have in turn succeeded one another, and the original constitution, of which the present is a modification, sees this month its eighth birthday. In a country which overthrows dynasties when we should only turn out Ministers—where the constitution alters its form to some extent whenever the Crown changes wearers, and where the form into which it has at last subsided is that of a despotism—it is no easy matter to attack the policy of the Executive without attacking at the same time its existence. Accordingly, the growth of what may be called a French Constitutional Opposition is a phenomenon worthy of remark. It is true that its members are probably only constitutional because they dare not be unconstitutional, and that in their hearts they are no enthusiastic admirers of the law to which they profess to appeal. It is true that they are more likely to irritate than to injure the Government. A false step will assuredly be made the most of by the authorities, and it is far from impossible that M. d'Haussonville, who is at present the distinguished apostle of the party, may be compelled to become its proto-martyr. But at any rate, we cannot watch without interest the tactics of those who are endeavouring to avail themselves of the modicum of liberty still left to Frenchmen.

As might have been anticipated, the advocates of Constitutional Opposition cannot discover many legal methods of annoying the Executive, or of advancing their own views. It would be very extraordinary if they could, for in that case they would be using the constitution to do the very thing which the constitution was designed to prevent: and considering that Napoleon III. can stop up his subjects' breathing-holes, if necessary, quite as fast as they can discover fresh ones, their ingenuity is not likely to be rewarded with much permanent success. M. d'Haussonville, however, considers it possible that the Emperor may be driven either to acquiesce in increased liberty of discussion, or openly to avow his determination of abolishing it altogether. The first alternative, he doubtless thinks, would be a gain to Liberalism—the second would be a blow to Imperial popularity. Either way, the Opposition will have effected something. To accomplish his end, there are two legitimate means which he proposes to employ. Malcontents may exercise the right, guaranteed by the constitution to every Frenchman, of petitioning the Senate. They may also do much by taking advantage of the subtle technical distinction which, it seems, may with propriety be drawn between the principle of the law of pamphlets and that of the law of periodicals. "Nous n'usons pas," says M. d'Haussonville, quoting the words of M. Guizot, "nous n'usons pas des libertés que nous avons."

Upon this principle, some five months back, M. d'Haussonville published, in the *Courrier du Dimanche*—a small, but able and independent weekly journal—a few remarks with respect to this right of petition, meant particularly for the benefit of the "Conseils-Generaux." He pointed out that these popular bodies enjoyed, at least under the Second Empire, the recognised privilege of giving advice and expressing their sentiments on public affairs. Upon a well-known occasion, at the turning point of the Imperial fortunes, the *Moniteur* had appealed to their loyalty and patriotism, and called upon them to take the initiative which of right belonged to them. The Government which had found it convenient to permit them to recommend the establishment of an hereditary Empire, could not, he said, thenceforward consider any matured and respectful suggestion they might wish to offer illegal or impertinent. It was their duty, he hinted, to urge upon the central authority the imperfections of any political system in which liberty was not an essential element, and to become in reality, what they were in theory, the mouthpieces of France. M. d'Haussonville appealed to them in vain. The *Conseils-Generaux*, having probably no taste for putting their heads into the lion's den, took not the slightest notice of his observations. What was perhaps equally vexatious, the Govern-

ment ignored them too. The *Courrier du Dimanche* was not even warned for its audacity in printing them.

Last December a new letter from M. d'Haussonville appeared in the columns of the same paper, though not addressed this time to the *Conseils-Generaux*. It seems to have struck him that it was possible to put the right of petition to the Senate in a stronger light. Has not every Frenchman, in virtue of the principle which based the Empire on universal suffrage, the constitutional privilege of petitioning the proper legislative functionaries to amend or abrogate an imperfect enactment? It must be confessed that M. d'Haussonville's theory is at least a plausible one. The first article of the Constitution of 1852 is taken up with the recognition of the principles of 1789 as the ground and basis of the public rights of the French nation. Among the special duties of the Senate the law places the receiving and entertaining of petitions. There cannot be petitions without petitioners, and the only petitioners possible in such a case must be the French people. Anxious to keep within the pale of legal propriety, M. d'Haussonville determines to take the opinion of the leading juriconsults of the day upon the subject. The Council of the Order of French Advocates are, he considers, the proper authorities to consult. His last letter in the *Courrier du Dimanche* is directed to the chairman and ex-chairman of that honourable society. He proposes for their discussion and consideration four questions, the three first of which relate to this asserted right of petition and complaint.

The present "bâtonnier" and the late "bâtonniers" of the Council—whose position may roughly be said to be somewhat similar to that which the successive Deans of Faculty occupy at the Scotch bar—are men of considerable eminence and celebrity. The distinguished names of M. Plocque, M. Berryer, and M. Dufaure, are to be found upon the list; and as the Council enjoys the advantage of electing its own chairman, the post is usually filled by one of the first advocates in France. It would be impossible under like circumstances in England, and it is obviously impossible at Paris, that an opinion given by the most remarkable lawyers of the country upon a soluble legal problem could be vitiated by political prejudice or partisanship. There is no reason for discrediting the soundness of their view, that the right of petition for which M. d'Haussonville contends may and ought to be exercised, and freely exercised. The sovereignty of the people, they assert, has a right of constitutional surveillance over all that the sovereignty of the people has founded or aspired to found. Every citizen, or each member of the sovereignty, may claim a share in it. He may lawfully demand the alteration of such laws as he conceives to be opposed, in spirit or in working, to the first basis of the Constitution. He may assign his reasons for thinking past legislation defective or imprudent. He may even assail in argument particular laws. But the "bâtonniers" go still further. M. d'Haussonville's third question is a startling one, and we might have imagined that he would have found some difficulty in obtaining a reply. "Can the decree," he asks, "of the 17th February, 1852, be denounced to the Senate by petition as contrary to the principles admitted, maintained, and guaranteed by the Constitution of 1852?" It will be remembered that the decree of the 17th February, 1852, is the famous enactment on the subject of the Press, which has removed French periodicals from the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals, and allows the Executive to this day to warn, suspend, and in some cases to suppress, a journal at its discretion. It was a measure adopted by Louis Napoleon on his own responsibility as President of the Republic, and subsequently honoured with at least the tacit sanction of the Senate and Legislative Body when they assembled a month afterwards. The Bâtonnier and the ex-Bâtonniers give it as their opinion that the decree is opposed in spirit to the general principles of the constitution, and may be denounced by petition to the Senate accordingly. One of the reasons on which they found their belief is striking in the highest degree. "The suppression," they say, "of a newspaper is the confiscation not only of the organ of an opinion, but of a commercial property of considerable consequence. It is a maxim of law in France that property is sacred, and that nothing but the sentence of a court of law can interfere with it." The decree of February, 1852, accordingly, as infringing the inviolability of property, they regard as distinctly unconstitutional.

The opinion from which the above is an extract has been since endorsed by the signatures of a large number of other well-known lawyers. M. Odillon Barrot and M. Hebert, Minister of Justice under Louis Philippe, have not only contributed their signatures, but published their reasons for so doing. The technical bearings of the question may be safely left to their care. But it must not be forgotten that, though the law of the Bâtonniers is doubtless excellent, the political sentiment which unmistakably animates their language is the sentiment of men who would not be sorry to see the Imperial Government subjected to vexation and annoyance. The bar is not just now on the best of terms with the Government. It is only the good sense of the Council of the Order which has recently prevented an open rupture between them. Nothing can be clearer than that these celebrated men exaggerate the political importance of the questions laid before them. The right of petitioning the Senate is very likely the birthright of all Frenchmen equally; but it does not follow that it would do a single Frenchman the least good in the world were he to insist on exercising it. Can any-

body in his senses suppose that the French Senate would dream of entertaining a petition hostile to the present régime? The Senate is a splendid collection of luminaries, whose only business is to revolve properly around the Imperial sun, singing as they shine of the hand that has elevated them to their conspicuous position. As the *Moniteur* itself unguardedly declared upon a recent occasion, they are "dignitaries, not functionaries." They have not hitherto been conspicuous for reckless independence or disregard of the powers that be. Nor would the prayer of the audacious murmurer who should be so bold as to direct their attention to the wrongs of France excite the least public enthusiasm. Who would hear of it beyond the huissiers of the gate? The deliberations of the Senators are secret. The *Corps Legislatif*, indeed, may publish its proceedings, but it may not receive addresses, and must occupy itself exclusively with the order of the day. Again, what journal would dare to give a *résumé* of the petition itself? The *Courrier du Dimanche* itself would hesitate to do so; and the only place in which the document could appear would be the English papers. Granting, again—as, from the evidence before us we are in duty bound to do—that the stringent laws which bind the French press are inconsistent with the rest of the French Constitution, what advantage is anybody likely to reap from the admission? Earthquakes are very unconstitutional, yet they occur. It is true that the decree in question cannot be strictly regarded as exceptional and temporary. The Duke of Padua, in his circular of last September, expressly guards against the supposition. "Le décret du 17 Février, 1852, n'est point, comme on l'a dit trop souvent, une loi de circonstance, née d'une crise de la société, et qui ne saurait convenir à des temps réguliers. Les principes sur lesquels repose le décret sont intimement liés à la restauration de l'autorité en France, et à la constitution de l'unité du pouvoir sur la base du suffrage universel." If, then, there is an incongruity between the decree and the rest of the Constitution, it is at least an incongruity which is meant to be permanent. But it is easy to justify even a permanent incongruity on the ground that it is requisite for purposes of public order.

We have hitherto only touched upon M. d'Haussonville's first plan of attack upon the Executive—the right of petition. The last question put by him to the Council of Advocates refers to the second scheme, which is based upon a difference between pamphlet-law and newspaper-law. "Est-il interdit, par aucune disposition des lois existantes, de reproduire par voie de brochure, sauf à en répondre devant les tribunaux, un article qui aurait été, dans un journal ou dans une revue, l'objet d'un avertissement?" May an article which has drawn down a "warning" upon a paper be legally republished in a pamphlet? The chairman and ex-chairmen of the Council, together with numerous members of their body, answer that it may. Their arguments are too lengthy to admit even of analysis. But the state of the law upon the subject may be briefly stated to be as follows:—A pamphlet is responsible to the judicial tribunals, and to no other authority, for the statements it contains. No doubt certain administrative regulations have to do with its printing and its publication. Notice of both, for example, must be given to the proper authorities. The work may be seized by the police on its first appearance. But the seizure is only provisional, must at once be followed up by a Government prosecution, and may of course be set aside, as has actually been the case a few weeks ago. A journal, on the other hand, by the decree of the 17th February, 1852, is placed upon an entirely different footing. The Minister, not the magistrate, is arbiter of its fate. An *avertissement*, then, is not a judicial penalty, but an act of administrative severity. It emanates, not from the Bench, but from the Home-office. It does not prove that the offending article is illegal—it only hints that its publication in a periodical has been imprudent or inconvenient. How can a pamphlet, which is amenable only to the authority of a court of law, be affected by the mere opinion of a non-judicial functionary? A man has not necessarily committed a crime, even in France, because the Minister of the Interior is pleased to think that he has.

Accordingly, there is no great difficulty in comprehending the conclusion at which the juriconsults whose signatures are appended to the above opinion have arrived on this last head. Let us not overrate the consequences which would ensue supposing it were judicially decided that their view was a correct one. It has been said that, as the Imperial Government could no longer suppress objectionable articles without a trial, the entire decree of the 17th February, 1852, would be rendered ineffective. Those who have advanced such an assertion strangely mistake the real effect of a Government warning. It is formidable, not because it suppresses this or that article, but because it fulfils at a blow one-third of the necessary preliminaries towards the ultimate suppression of the journal. As a matter of fact, articles which receive a warning might, generally speaking, be prosecuted; and, indeed, so complaisant are the law courts now-a-days, they would seldom escape condemnation. The particular sting of the *avertissement* lies in the blow it strikes at the very existence of the journal. No interpretation which can be put upon the law of pamphlets in any important degree affects the influence of the decree of February, 1852, on the French press.

M. d'Haussonville has himself an opportunity, perhaps sooner than he expected, of testing the accuracy of the opinion he has obtained in reply to his inquiries. The number of the *Courrier*

*du Dimanche* which contained them received a warning. M. Du-buisson, his publisher, who had contracted previously to republish the article in the shape of a brochure, frightened by the signs of Imperial displeasure, declines to perform his contract. M. d'Haussonville refuses, on his part, to allow that the "warning" is a sufficient excuse for his publisher's timidity, and has brought an action against him for breach of contract. The process is now awaiting the decision of the Council of Commerce, which cannot fail to be somewhat moved by the almost unanimous opinion of the French bar. The Parisian public looks on with some interest to see whether the Government will checkmate the party of Constitutional Opposition in this their first move.

#### DISASTERS AT SEA.

AN official inquiry under the authority of the Board of Trade has been lately made into the circumstances of the loss of the Royal Mail steam-ship *Paramatta*, on her voyage to the West Indies, in June last. The investigation has resulted in a severe censure of the Captain's conduct, and the justice of this conclusion has been impugned by a writer in the *Shipping and Mercantile Gazette*, who appears to express the prevailing sentiments of the class to which the condemned officer belongs. We shall not undertake to examine the validity of the excuses offered for the captain of the *Paramatta*. We do not think the apology presented for him is by any means complete; but our present object is to call public attention to the insane system of sacrificing safety to a small increase of speed—a system which appears, from this and several other recent cases, to be widely prevalent in the commercial navy, and which must, if unchecked, produce frequent disasters and lamentable sacrifices of life and property which ordinary prudence and moderation would have carried into port without loss or damage.

On the 30th of last June the *Paramatta* had nearly completed a highly favourable voyage from Southampton to St. Thomas's, which is the most westerly of the group called the Virgin Islands, and the first in the great semicircular chain of islands which extends from Porto Rico almost to the continent of South America. The small islands, rocks, and shoals in the neighbourhood of St. Thomas's are so numerous, and the currents are so variable, that the navigation of those waters is stated to be the most dangerous within the whole range of the operations of the company to which the ship belonged. The channel by which St. Thomas's is usually approached passes between the island of Sombrero and that of Virgin Gorda, which lies about forty miles from Sombrero and nearly west of it. Having passed between these islands, a west-south-west course will carry a ship safely into St. Thomas's. About fifteen miles nearly north of Virgin Gorda lies the island of Anegada, surrounded by reefs and shoals. The distance from Sombrero to Anegada is about forty miles, and the bearing a little north of west. Thus the three islands form nearly an isosceles triangle, of which Sombrero is the point opposite to the base. The sea is open on the two sides, but obstructed along the base by the reefs adjoining Anegada. It is stated that between 1811 and 1844 sixty-seven wrecks occurred on these very reefs. If these details be understood, it will be seen what a tremendous risk the captain of the *Paramatta* thought fit to run in accordance, as appears, with the prevailing, or at least too common, practice of the service to which he belongs. On arriving within about a hundred miles of the destined port, it is usual to lay the vessel's course so as to sight Sombrero, and after bringing that island on the ship's east, so as to be sure of passing between it and Virgin Gorda, a steamer may proceed in perfect safety at her highest speed for St. Thomas's. At noon Captain Baynton made his observations, and ordered his ship to be steered upon a course which, if there were no error in his calculations, and if no unknown current were influencing the vessel's movement, would have brought her within sight of Sombrero by about six p.m. But the prescribed course was held until seven p.m., and still Sombrero did not appear. Now, upon the question whether the *Paramattas* where her captain supposed her to be, or whether she was twenty or thirty miles further to the north and west, depended her safety or destruction. One would think that the non-appearance of an island where it was expected might inspire the most daring navigator with caution. But the captain "had full confidence in his observations." If the island were not there, it ought to be; and perhaps it had made a mistake, and had forgotten to occupy its usual place that morning. A captain of the old school might say—"The island!—d—n the island. Lay her head west—south-west, quartermaster;" or rather he would have said this if he could have neglected the warnings of an experience gained in times when astronomical instruments were not so perfect, nor reliance upon them so implicit as at the present day. However, Captain Baynton steered, at a speed of nearly thirteen knots an hour, straight (as he chose to fancy) for St. Thomas's. As the evening advanced, observations of the North Star for latitude showed him that he was rather farther north than he had supposed. This led to a slight change of the ship's course southwards; but still it does not seem to have entered into the captain's mind to stop, or even to slack, his engines. Either from imperfection in his instruments or inaccuracy in his observations, or from the action of an unobserved current—or more probably from a combination of these causes—the ship really was about thirty miles to the westward and northward of her supposed

position; and thus, instead of keeping the open channel to St. Thomas's, which leaves Virgin Gorda to the north, the ship was running at full speed upon Aneгада, or upon some of the rocks and shoals which lie between it and Virgin Gorda. Night, too, was drawing on. High land might have been seen in time to escape danger. But immediately in the vessel's track lay the Horseshoe reef, nearly hidden beneath the water, but still causing breakers, or at least some motion of the sea, which by daylight might have conveyed warning to a practised eye. But alas! as the four poets sang—

No eyes those rocks discover  
Which lurk beneath the deep.

The *Paramatta* rushed at high speed upon the reef, and perished there. Happily, in this instance,

To wreck the wandering lover,  
And leave the maid to weep,

would not be an appropriate quotation. The crew and passengers were saved, but a heavy loss of property was incurred by an act of rashness for which there cannot be the least excuse.

By this foolhardy defiance of the plainest rules of seamanship a fine mail-steamer has been cast away. The captains of sailing-vessels, too, are equally forward in the same heedless races against time, and not a whit more careful either of their own or of others' lives. In October last, the *Flora Temple* clipper-ship left Macao, with 850 coolie labourers, for Havannah. She had been a few days out of port, and was approaching a reef which rises in the China Sea, far from any island, and spreads itself just beneath the water in a curved line of about half-a-mile, causing breakers which, in the daytime, and with clear weather, ought to give sufficient warning. It was known that reefs were near at hand to the eastward, and that a current set in that direction. Whether the particular reef before described was laid down on any chart does not appear. The course of the *Flora Temple* was about south-east, and there was a strong south-west wind. Her captain kept her under reduced sail, which appears to be thought an instance of unusual caution, but he considered he might safely hold his actual course for several hours, and accordingly he fixed a time at which it should be altered, and ordering a good look-out to be kept, he went below. Whether this direction was imperfectly obeyed, or whether evening had so far advanced as to render it unavailing, we do not know. It is, however, certain that the ship was steered directly upon the reef. The breakers were not perceived until too late to check her speed. It was found impossible to get her head round in time, and so she drove upon the rocks, where she hung until a gale next day completed her destruction. All the Coolies and nearly half the Europeans perished. The captain, with the other survivors, managed to make a fortnight's voyage in the long-boat to a French colony in Cochinchina, and returned immediately in a steamer to the scene of the disaster in hopes of picking up the Europeans who had manned another boat, or of finding the wreck still above water, and some of the Coolies clinging to it, or perhaps drifting upon a raft. It is remarkable that although the long-boat crossed the most frequented part of the China Sea, she did not meet a single vessel. Her crew experienced all the usual sufferings of such voyages, which have been so often and so movingly described. The fate of the other boat cannot be known. The poor Coolies probably sleep among the rocks where the ship was beaten to pieces in the gale.

Now this case of the *Flora Temple* is even more monstrous than that of the *Paramatta*. The captain of the steam-ship would have been applauded and thanked by his passengers, if, as his apologist says, "he had managed to slip past the Horseshoe reef," and to enter St. Thomas's a day or two before his time. But surely it could not matter to an unenlightened coolie whether he commenced a life's labour at Havannah six hours earlier than he might have done if the ship had kept a perfectly safe course. A busy people must submit to the accidents which beset its hurried rush through life; but a coolie is not busy, and labour in the West Indies is not so delightful that he need hasten to escape to it from the lazy existence of a sea-voyage. Why should we inflict on him the blessings of an advancing civilization? The maxim, not to do to-day what can be put off until to-morrow is widely accepted in the East; and perhaps it leads to as much happiness as the bustling, fussy way of life upon which our own nation prides itself. It is imputed to these coolies that they made an attempt to murder the European crew and seize the ship. If they had done so, and supposing they were not mere landmen, we feel tolerably confident that they would have carried the ship safely to Havannah, and certainly they would not have lost her by running blindly upon a reef rather than waste half a day. Of course they would have shortened sail or lain-to altogether until broad daylight. What need could there be for hurry, or why should they not indulge in that contemplative quietude which all Easterns love and the energetic Briton finds so unsupportable? It is hard that nearly 900 lives should have been sacrificed because the captain of the *Flora Temple* hoped to boast that he had made a quick passage. It is a great price we pay for speed, even if "Push on—keep moving," be the true principle of all human life.

It is but lately that the *Royal Charter* finished a prosperous voyage in disaster, which she incurred through too great eagerness to reach her port. She approached a dangerous shore in defiance of the signs of an impending gale, when there was nothing except the usual objection to losing time which could

have prevented her from running out into the open sea, where the storm, though raging terribly, would have been but little dangerous. Indeed, it may with truth be said that a very large proportion of the wrecks and disasters of steam-ships is caused either by their omitting to lie-to in circumstances of doubt and difficulty, or by their hugging the shore too closely in rounding capes and shoals. In either case the motive for rashness is the same—it is impatience of a slight delay. In unknown waters, or among the moving islands of the Northern Sea, sailors show themselves as cautious and as ready with expedients as they used to be. But in proportion as coasts are surveyed and lighted, and the science of navigation is developed, and the speed and power of our ships increases, so does the determination to use all these advantages to the uttermost in the keen rivalry between ships and companies, perpetually operate to keep the peril of sea-voyages pretty near to what it used to be. The apologist for the *Paramatta's* captain has said that the destruction of that ship was what is called in the old-fashioned language of a charter-party, "the act of God." We say, on the contrary, that it was the act of the folly and madness of man. The term which we have quoted belongs to an age when they who go down to the sea in ships had not learned the irreverent practice of imputing to the Deity the direct consequences of human rashness. Let us, if we can, amend this folly; or, if we will persist in it, let us at least take the blame upon ourselves.

#### THE CIVIL SERVICE OF A DEMOCRACY.

NO dogma is so absolutely stated, or so unhesitatingly erected into an axiom, by the Radical system of logic, as that administrative mismanagement and official corruption are the fruits of aristocratic government. That men of good family are less capable in business matters than men of no family—that gentlemen are more inclined to jobbery, and less scrupulous in their dealings than tradesmen—these are postulates essential to every proposition of Mr. Bright's political Elements. If you do not grant him these modest requisites, he can prove nothing—not even that England is the worst governed and most heavily taxed country in the world. As, however, he does meet with some people so unreasonable as to doubt his whole doctrine, from its highest conclusions down to its simplest premisses, he keeps on hand a *reductio ad absurdum* tremendous enough to overpower the most audacious and hardened scepticism. "Look at the United States! See how prosperous the working classes are there! how small the burden per head of the national expenditure! and all this because they have no aristocracy, and consequently no waste of the public money, no jobbery, and no corrupt practices at the expense of the people." And this argument tells with particular force on any auditor who happens—as seems to be Mr. Bright's own case—to know no more of American affairs than it suits the Radical press and platform to reveal to him. Admitting the facts to be true, and keeping carefully out of view the unlimited supply of land in America, the blow would probably come home with stunning effect. Men accustomed to economical inquiries, who know that the rate of wages depends on no political considerations, or who have heard, as we have lately heard, an American gentleman declare that his direct taxes in Boston—the expenses of the Federal Government being defrayed by the Customs—were only twelve or thirteen per cent. on his income, are disposed to regard with some suspicion Mr. Bright's enumeration of the other blessings which flow from a pure democracy.

If the labour of agitation allowed a demagogue leisure to master the facts on which he harangues, we might suspect the member for Birmingham of purposely ignoring certain important evidence concerning the immaculate character of the public service of America. As it is, we doubt not that he will be more surprised than any one else if he will read a very remarkable document issued last March, by order of the House of Representatives—the Report of the Select Committee on Naval Contracts and Expenditures. If we are to accept statements which come to us on the authority of the Supreme Legislature, we must for the future understand the purity of American democracy in much the same sense as the "purity" of Wakefield Radicalism. Our own naval administration is, perhaps, the worst and most wasteful department of the public service; but if such facts could be elicited concerning the management of the Admiralty as this Report reveals in the Naval Department of the United States, the abettors of the system would hardly find apologists in the House or toleration from the country.

Complaints, couched in tolerably strong language, were made to the House of Representatives that the money voted for naval expenses had been expended "for partisan purposes, and not for the purposes prescribed by law;" and further, that the Navy Department had shown gross partiality in the manner of awarding particular contracts. A Committee, of which the majority appear to have been warm partisans of the present Administration, was appointed to investigate the matter. The Committee directed its attention particularly to four points:—the contracts for steam machinery for seven vessels of war ordered to be built in 1857; the contracts for live oak for the navy in the same year; the agency for the supply of coal to American vessels of war on foreign stations; and the state of the Brooklyn (or New York) Navy-yard—one of the principal, if not the chief dockyard of the United States' Navy. In regard to the

first topic, very little could be learned that directly inculpated any one. The contracts were awarded by a Board of naval engineers, not always to the lowest bidder, but to the lowest whose plans they approved. It was impossible, therefore, for the Committee effectually to criticise the awards, and the majority refrained from doing so. The minority justly remarked that this method afforded no security (except of course the personal honour of the engineers in question) that the awards would be made with a sole view to the public interest. Such a remark is significant in itself. In this country it is known that the civil servants of the State are not, as such, politicians, and that their character would be lost if they were suspected of being biased by personal interest—indeed, of having any personal interest in the performance of their official functions. In America they are less strict—so much so, that one of the members of the board which decided on the machinery contracts was the patentee of an invention (the Martin boiler) used in steam-engines, and had a direct interest in its adoption in every case. In one instance he was to receive 1000 dollars for the use of his patent in one of the plans; and it was proved that he was in the habit, while a chief engineer in the navy, sitting on such boards, of preparing plans for contractors, and receiving fees as consulting engineer to a larger amount than the value of his official salary. All this was known to his superiors in office, who employed him in these duties, and apparently considered that his private interest in contracts was no disqualification for the function of awarding them on behalf of the public. The dissentient members of the Committee considered that "the appointment of Daniel B. Martin as a person pecuniarily interested" was, under these circumstances, highly censurable. The majority thought otherwise. Another remarkable fact is the strong political influences brought to bear in the award of contracts. In one closely-contested case, two ex-members of Congress went to solicit the Naval Secretary on behalf of one firm, while the other bidder, in a letter to the department, urged vehemently his claim, as a democratic politician, to a share in the public plunder. "We gave 312 votes for the Administration at the last election," is his best argument in claiming the contract for "our shop." In another instance, a gentleman recommended a competing firm, in a letter to the President, because "with that shop at work, full-handed, two weeks prior to the election, the result would be placed beyond all doubt." And the head of the Government, instead of rebuking this attempt at corruption, "submitted it to the attention of the Secretary of the Navy." Imagine Mr. Bright recommending one of his constituents for a gun-making contract, on the ground that the Liberal interest in Birmingham would be thereby strengthened against the next election! Or imagine Lord Palmerston submitting such a recommendation to the attention of the Duke of Somerset!

So far nothing was elicited that tended to convict any one of conduct, according to American notions, corrupt or dishonourable. But in the process of the investigation concerning the steam-engine contracts, a delicate transaction was brought to light reflecting no great credit upon the House, of which its hero, the Hon. J. Glancy Jones, was a member. That gentleman, possessing, or being supposed to possess, personal or political influence with the chiefs of the party in power, entered into an agreement with the Reading Forge Company, under which he was to receive five per cent. on the amount of all Government contracts he could obtain for them; and he did, under this agreement, obtain for them a large quantity of Government work. The manager of this bargain for the Company was another member of the House of Representatives. When an isolated instance of the same sort of compact, in which an army clothier figured as the principal offender, came to light in this country, the public were sufficiently disgusted; but for some reason or other, in aristocratic England, members of Parliament and men of high social standing are shy of entering into such transactions. In the United States they seem to excite but little notice. Another dealer in "interest" is Mr. George Plitt, "an active and intimate friend of President Buchanan." This man bargained with Swift, a timber contractor, "to aid Swift all he could in obtaining live-oak contracts with the Navy Department, for which Swift was to pay to Plitt ten per cent. on the gross amount of the contracts made." Plitt performed his part, introducing his client to all the influential men of his party—the President among others. Swift subscribed 10,000 dollars towards Mr. Buchanan's election, of which the candidate was made duly aware. This liberality, of course, did not go without its reward. In June, 1858, it suited the convenience of the American Government, as happens about every two years, to create the semblance of a quarrel with Great Britain. The Secretary for the Navy knew that Mr. Swift had in his yards some scores of thousand feet of live oak; that another dealer had about half as much; and that no one else had any—this being an article only kept on hand by contractors, and requiring generally one or two years to procure. Mr. Swift and his sole competitor made an agreement, by which the stock of the latter was to be taken by the former at contract prices; and Swift then urged the Government to purchase the live oak timber that remained on his hands. This, the Secretary said, he was forbidden by law to do. But he issued an advertisement for contracts so worded as to effect Swift's purpose just as well. Respecting the said advertisement, there is a "discrepancy" between the Secretary's statement and the facts proven. The Secretary (Mr. Toucey) avers that "the time allowed was sufficient for those who were actual dealers in such timber, and

who, in making offers, intended to comply with them." The contrary was proved to the satisfaction of every man on the Committee, most of whom were disposed to screen and compliment him as far as possible. The subordinate who drew up the advertisement, fixed what he thought a fair date. His chief (Mr. Toucey) altered it to one six months earlier, at which it was known to be impossible for any other dealer than Swift to furnish the timber. Several other contractors, unaware of the secret object of the department, underbid Swift, expecting that the time would be extended. One firm, applying to a cautious gentleman, who had friends in office, to be their security, were refused by him, owing to the warnings he received, and did not sign the contract awarded to them. Others signed and attempted to fulfil; but on the day named found their contracts mercilessly annulled. Swift got them all, without the condition impossible to the previous holders. To crown the discreditable nature of the transaction, it was shown that at the time when the contracts were given to him, all apprehension of war—if there ever were any—had passed away; and so far from requiring any fresh supply of live oak, many of the yards had more than they could use before it decayed. Swift having got his contracts, Plitt applied for his promised brokerage. Swift refused. Now comes the most striking part of the story. Plitt went and made his plaint—to the President! He had the audacity to go to the Chief of the Executive Government and virtually say to him, "Swift promised me in writing a percentage to use my influence with you to procure him contracts. I have done so, as you know. And now he repudiates his agreement." And he consulted the President as to whether he should sue Swift for breach of contract! We have read such things in history of the corrupt courtiers of Charles II. and William III., but we hardly expected to read them as occurring in the offices of the highest State authorities of America in the nineteenth century. Mr. Buchanan did not "cut" his friend, or even rebuke him. He cautiously remarked, "*looking at the agreement*, that he saw no objection to a prosecution, but had no advice to give. Mr. Plitt must do as he pleased." Here we see the true democratic affability. A "bloated aristocrat" at the head of the English Cabinet would hardly have deigned to "look at" this precious document.

The coal agency, "being a Pennsylvania appointment," was left virtually to the President, as we in this country are wont to see small Post-office appointments left to the local members. He appointed a Dr. Hunter, who had previously agreed to divide the profits of the office with a competitor who gave way to him, and a member of the State Legislature, who recommended him. Of this bargain it is positively and repeatedly affirmed that Mr. Buchanan was cognisant. Dr. Hunter handed over the business of the agency to the firm from whom he purchased coals (who seem to have charged a very high price, but otherwise to have acted honourably), left them to send what coal they liked, never inspected or weighed it, and took no security against fraud as to either quality or quantity. The sellers might have cheated Government to any extent. All that the "agent" did was to settle the price with them when he first entered upon his office, and to draw his per centage. In six months he and his partners received 7450 dollars (nearly 1490*l.*, or at the rate of some 3000*l.* a year) for doing nothing. Does any English favourite of fortune enjoy a sinecure more complete or more lucrative than this American democrat?

Had we space this week to enter upon the last and most instructive of the topics treated in this Report—the state of the Brooklyn Navy Yard—we might be able to afford still more remarkable examples of American immunity from jobbery and maladministration. Those that we have here culled are, however, most heartily at Mr. Bright's service as illustrations for the next repetition of his favourite lecture on "Aristocratic Vices and Demagogic Remedies."

#### AMERICA ON THE HIGH SEAS.

HOW comes it that the American character is, at least in its nautical development, one of malignant cruelty? The question forces itself upon us, not specially on account of the horrible evidence given at the recent inquiry at Cowes, implicating the mates of the American bark *Anna*, but upon larger grounds. The case, as it stands, against the American officers is entirely one-sided, and, on the very face of it, suggests what we are very willing to regard as traces of considerable exaggeration. That, of a crew of only twelve persons, six should have been, with circumstances of deliberate and frightful cruelty, murdered by the other six—each murder being committed under circumstances of the most revolting atrocity—each murder being varied in the details, yet with a sickening family likeness of torture—is what we should be reluctant to believe, except on evidence more substantial and better sifted than what was presented before the Cowes magistrates last Saturday. The charge was that the mates, apparently without the knowledge or even the connivance of the master of the ship, left one man to be drowned after knocking his eye out with a mallet—jumped upon two others, and pounded and smashed them to death—and in various ways beat and belaboured with heavy iron bars and wooden clubs the remaining three victims, for an hour together, through all the protracted agonies of lingering torture. It is but fair to the accused to say that the master's account of the affair is that the six negroes died of yellow fever; and it certainly

does seem a case of perfectly gratuitous fiendishness that in a ship under-manned any officer should murder one-half of his scanty crew for the mere sake of seeing their long death struggles. Besides this, the witness is himself a negro. The murders he charges are those of negroes. There is a good deal of the Legree character and incident about the whole transaction. These are the obvious abatements, or at least suspicions, which present themselves as to the strict literal truth of the detestable tragedies deposed to by the negro sailor, John Thomas. But on the other hand, though his evidence alone was taken, two other witnesses were in attendance; and if the case had not been stopped by the claim made by the American Consul to save the American jurisdiction, it is probable that murder, though not perhaps of the wholesale and revolting character which the matter at first sight presents, might have been established against the American officers—if officers the brutes in charge of these low traders may be called. Perhaps it is from some latent prejudice in favour of human nature that we have suggested that the case may not be as black as it is painted by the sable limner of this terrible tragedy; but there are, we admit, difficulties nearly as great in declining to believe the testimony adduced at Cowes as in accepting it in the gross. A negro sailor is not very likely to have calculated on the indignation of the British public, nor to be so familiar with a work of literature as to reproduce the ghastly fiction of Mrs. Stowe as the account of what occurred on a voyage from the Spanish Main to the British Channel; and though, without corroborative testimony, we decline at present to believe that six murders were committed, we do not hesitate to accept the conclusion that at least one murder took place under circumstances which hardly admit of exaggeration. And even apart from the particular charge, the records of the Thames Police Court, and the constant charges against American captains of cruelty to their crews, substantiate the fact that the merchant service of the United States is stained by crimes comparatively unknown to the marine of other civilized nations.

This has to be accounted for; and the reason is perhaps twofold. *Ceteris paribus*, the merchant service exhibits more cruelty and disregard of human life than the navy. It is so even in the mercantile marine of England, and discipline is more undefined, and the autocratic irresponsible despotism of the master of a trading vessel, necessary under certain obvious conditions, is less liable to control. There may be something, too, injurious to the whole moral being in the great isolation and solitariness which pervades a long voyage. Tyranny is the natural growth of irresponsible power; and the steps by which tyranny is developed into malignity are easy. The very sight of physical pain stimulates and exasperates the torturer, and one act of cruelty begets another. The case of the merchant captain who was hanged at Liverpool two or three years ago, proves how utterly insensible the moral being of a torturer becomes. The very act of inflicting pain produces a certain sense of physical pleasure in inflicting it, and the mind thus distorted and brutalized seeks for a wholeness and completeness in exhausting the terrible varieties of another's sufferings. It is the rule in these cases that what does not soften only hardens; and far from the tyrant relenting and recoiling at the aspect of agony, one shriek only suggests the necessity of extracting another. Hence it is, that in all these instances we observe the prolonged and repeated character of the atrocities committed. The appetite must be thoroughly gorged, and among barbarous tribes it is always the characteristic of torture that it is in linked sufferings long drawn out. We can therefore quite believe the accumulative character of the cruelties attributed to the sea-captains.

But this consideration applies in no special way to the American masters. There is no ethnological reason why the Anglo-Saxon race should, in the United States, develop this brutal ferocity; it must therefore be sought in exceptional circumstances. There is a tendency in all mercantile masters to be careless about the use of brute force, because, as we have said, in their case large and undefined powers of discipline are almost necessarily lodged in the hands of a rough and uneducated class. But what we have to find out is why this tendency leads to such effects in the American merchant service. Partly, perhaps, because the old buccaneering traditions survive here most strongly—partly because life is held cheap in the home of bowie knives and Lynch law—partly because the law of the United States stretches but a feeble hand over the dark secrets of the ocean—but still more because, as in this case, the black man is considered as debarred from the sacred rights of humanity. America has no human duties to "that old nigger;" his sufferings and death are not, practically speaking, matters of legal cognizance. The Dred Scott decision cannot but have its influence on such persons as Lane and Hires of the American bark *Anna*.

It will, we fear, be impossible to bring these ruffians to justice, even if their crime is proved. We much doubt whether the case will be further prosecuted, yet it is one in comparison to which the Mortara abduction, with which Europe rings, is as nothing. The smile which is reported to have passed over the faces of the accused mates when the non-jurisdiction of the British court was admitted, is significant of the substantial immunity which they knew was in store for the *Cives Americani*. We make no charge against the President or Judges of the United States when we state our conviction that the mates will never be brought to trial, or at least will never be

convicted. Law is powerless against public opinion; and if public opinion is not with the murderers, it will, in America, be but languidly exerted against them. We have our doubts whether the Cowes magistrates were justified in handing over the witnesses to the tender mercies of knuckle-dusters on the homeward voyage: but we have no doubt whatever that, if this case is suffered to pass in America without the most serious investigation, the character of the people of the United States is irreparably damaged before the whole civilized world. A brief statement of the charge produced at Cowes, circulated in the tract form, as is the custom of the day, in all parts of the world, would afford a novelty to unemployed philanthropists, and might do something to check that blind worship of high wages which is said to tempt so many of our sailors into the service of the stars and stripes.

## REVIEWS.

### RICHARDSON'S TRAVELS IN MOROCCO.\*

AS the Spanish invasion has invested the Empire of Morocco with some temporary interest, the publication of Mr. Richardson's travels in that country is, to a certain extent, opportune, though its contents would no doubt have been better arranged if the author had lived to superintend their publication. Mr. Richardson was one of the enterprising travellers of whom the present generation has been so singularly prolific. He lost his life in an attempt to penetrate into the interior of Africa from the north, in pursuance of a commission given him by the Government to enter into treaties with the chiefs of the surrounding districts. It seems that before this journey (though, owing probably to the confusion in which his papers were left at his death, hardly any dates are given), Mr. Richardson lived for some time at different towns in Morocco, especially at Mogador, and had some opportunity of collecting information upon the general state of the country. His object in going there at all was a very strange one. He appears to have been the bearer of an address from the Anti-Slavery Society to the Emperor of Morocco, requesting him to abolish slavery in his dominions. There is a sort of simplicity in such a proceeding which never seems to have occurred to Mr. Richardson. He does not say that the Moors are utterly unlike ourselves, and constituted on principles diametrically opposed to those which regulate our own feelings and conduct; and yet he seems to have thought that some effect would be produced upon the Emperor of Morocco by a petition from a number of people whom he had never seen or even heard of, and that he would, in deference to their views, abolish one of the permanent institutions of his country.

Being in Morocco upon this singular errand, Mr. Richardson used his opportunities and looked about him to some extent, and he gives a certain degree of information about the country which is not, we believe, very readily to be obtained elsewhere. The Empire of Morocco forms the western half of North Africa, lying between the Mediterranean on the north, the Atlantic on the west, the Sahara on the south, and Algeria, the Atlas, and Tafillet on the east. It is on an average about 500 miles deep from north to south, and 200 wide from east to west; but the Emperor, or Shereef, exercises a nominal sovereignty of ill-defined extent beyond these boundaries. One of Mr. Richardson's informants went so far as to claim for him an authority over the Mussulmans of the West answering to that of the Sultan of the Ottomans over the Mussulmans of the East; but Mr. Richardson thinks this is an exaggeration. The population of this country is a very curious one. It has been invaded by several successive races, of whom the earliest known to authentic history were the Phœnicians. When the Romans succeeded them, they found an indigenous people, to whom they gave indifferently the names of Mauri and Barbari. The Vandals succeeded the Romans, but were afterwards utterly exterminated by Belisarius. The Arabs, however, permanently established themselves there, and made Morocco the point of departure from whence they invaded Spain. The Arabs were called Moors by the Spaniards, who, in choosing that name, were probably reviving the use of the ancient designation of Mauri, which properly belonged, not to the Arabs, but to the ancient inhabitants of the country. Finally, after many centuries of power in Spain, the Arabs were expelled, and took refuge in Morocco, where they retained the name which they had so long borne in Europe. The result of the whole is that the Moors of the Spaniards and the Mauri of the Romans are now so much mixed up that they have ceased to exist as separate races. There are still Berbers, Arabs, Moors, and Turks in Morocco, but they are distinguished by their occupations, and not by any distinction of race. Those who live in the towns are called Moors or Turks, and those who live in the country in tents are called Arabs or Berbers. Besides these there are a considerable number of Negro tribes in Morocco, and a good many Jews.

Morocco consists of two regions sloping downwards, north-west and south-east, from the chain of the Atlas, which contains at least one peak 15,000 feet high. The northern slope produces cattle, grain, and skins; and the southern, gum, almonds, ostrich feathers, bark, leeches, wax, wool, and skins. The climate of

\* *Travels in Morocco*. By the late James Richardson. Edited by his Widow. 2 vols. London: Skeet, 1860.

the northern part resembles that of Spain, but the long coast line, and the prevalence of the trade-winds, produce abundance of rain. The southern half is much hotter. That part of the northern slope of Morocco which borders the coast is called the Rif, and is inhabited by Berber tribes, over whom the Shereef has only a very precarious authority. Along the coast the Spaniards possess several penal settlements, or *presidios*, of which the principal is at Ceuta—a corruption of Sebta, which is a relic of the ancient Roman name, "Septem Fratres." Tetuan is one of the principal towns on the Rif coast. It contains from 9000 to 12,000 inhabitants, but has no port and little trade. The port of Salee also deserves notice on account of its ancient reputation. The Maroquin navy is still laid up there, but it consists of a very few ships, which are entirely unserviceable, whilst the dockyard is nearly deserted. The population are still so bitter against the Christians and Jews that they will not permit a member of either religion to reside amongst them. Tangier is the principal town on the Mediterranean coast, and is the residence of the European Consuls-general, of whom there are eleven. It is perhaps matter of regret that our Government should have given it up in 1684, as it is only thirty miles W.S.W. of Gibraltar, and has a port which might be made very convenient at a small expense. Such a possession would have considerably strengthened our hold upon the Straits. Mogador is the only harbour of importance on the Atlantic coast. A considerable trade is carried on there with Europe, of which two-thirds are with England, whilst the largest share of the remainder falls to France. The trade with the interior is conducted almost entirely by the use of camels, which bring down their loads of gum and almonds to the shore, where they are immediately loaded on board ship and exported. The consequence of this extreme simplicity of trading is, that the town itself is of trifling importance, and the power of bombarding or otherwise destroying it gives no hold to foreign Powers upon the empire of Morocco.

The royal cities, or capitals, of Morocco are four—El-kesar, Mequinez, Fez and Morocco. Mequinez is the military capital, containing the Imperial treasure, and the Emperor's negro body-guard which protects it. Fez was formerly celebrated for its university, and is still the centre of such literature as exists in the country. It is said to contain a population of 88,000 souls, and has two annual caravans, one of which leaves for Timbuctoo and the other for Mecca. The journey to Timbuctoo occupies about ninety days—the journey to Mecca five or six months. The city of Morocco itself is said to be seven miles in circumference, though most of this space is filled with ruins. Its population is variously estimated from 50,000 to 100,000. It is about fourteen miles from the Atlas. Morocco is the seat of the residence of the Emperor. There is great rivalry between it and Fez, and the different dynasties which have governed Morocco at different times have given the preference sometimes to the one and sometimes to the other.

The government of Morocco is of the most barbarous kind. The greater part of the trade of the empire is conducted by the Emperor through the medium of monopolies, some of which he sells, whilst he keeps others in his own hands. Those which are sold or farmed are, the monopoly of leeches, which is let for 50,000 dollars a year; wax, for 3000; bark, for 16,000; coining copper money, let to each principal city for 10,000 dollars a year; millet and small seeds for 500; cattle for victualling Gibraltar, 7500. Besides this, the Emperor keeps in his own hand the monopolies of tobacco, sulphur, and cochineal. The monopolies do not interfere with export duties, which are laid heavily upon most of the articles which we have mentioned, and moreover upon Jews and Jewesses. The Shereef obviously looks upon the Jews in much the same light as that in which they were regarded by some of our own early kings. No male Jew can leave the ports of Morocco without paying four dollars custom duty, and Jewesses must pay 100. The reason is that the Jewesses are detained as a sort of pledge to secure the return of their husbands and fathers. Without the Jews the commerce of the country could hardly be carried on. The revenues of the Shereef were estimated a century ago at 200,000*l.* per annum; but in addition to this he has a considerable hoard of treasure in the vaults of Mequinez, which is said to amount to as much as 10,000,000*l.* sterling. The manner in which the Emperor collects this treasure—the accumulation of which has been the principal object of his life—is eminently characteristic. He allows the Governors of the various towns not only to collect the taxes, but to exact from the people as much as they see fit; but this privilege is held subject to the obligation of honouring such drafts as the Emperor may choose to draw upon them, and if they fail to do so, they are subject to imprisonment and deprivation both of office and of property. In a word, the Governors are the Shereef's sponges, and are squeezed as often as they become full.

The Emperors—especially since the French occupation of Algeria—are excessively sensitive on the subject of their religion. The whole country is filled with saints who inveigh in the most vehement manner against the infidels, and frequently preach up a holy war. One or two of Mr. Richardson's anecdotes as to the form which the orthodoxy of the Moors assumes are instructive. Some zealous person, by way of compliment to the Shereef, brought a quantity of handkerchiefs into the country, on which were printed texts from the Koran, whilst another ornamented the sides of some sciditz-water bottles in the same manner. The Shereef expressed the utmost indignation at this

desecration of his Scriptures. Mr. Richardson seems to think this extraordinary, but a little reflection will surely show that, from his own point of view, the Shereef was quite right, and that the real callousness lay on the side of the man who thought that it would be a compliment to the Bible to blow one's nose with a leaf of it.

The Emperor's power would seem to be greatly limited by the institutions of his country. He cannot, apparently, pardon the most trifling offences. An English merchant was riding near Mogador, when an old woman seized his bridle and demanded charity. He pushed her away, and she swore that he had knocked out two of her teeth, which, as she had been toothless for twenty years before, did not seem probable. The Emperor advised the Englishman to make her a small present and get rid of the difficulty, but he resolutely refused to do so, on which she got up so violent a commotion that the Emperor was reduced to beg the merchant to allow two of his teeth to be knocked out in compliance with the *lex talionis*. The sturdy merchant at last consented, and the teeth were drawn, but the Emperor was so much ashamed that he sent him two shiploads of grain as compensation for the personal sacrifice which he had made to the public peace.

#### A SEAMAN'S LIFE.\*

THE Earl of Dundonald has lately published the first volume of his own biography, in which he narrates his services in the British navy down to the famous action in Basque Roads in 1809. He promises another volume, which will contain the history of the prosecution on which he was convicted, and which caused his expulsion from his country's service. The same volume will exhibit Lord Dundonald fighting in the cause of Greek independence; and he has already published an account of the ill-requested services which he performed for Chili and Brazil. We may also expect in the second volume of the present work such observations as are suggested by the skill and experience of the distinguished author upon the extensive modifications in the system of naval warfare which have been introduced since the period of his own celebrated exploits. It is to be feared that a writer who comes before the world on his eighty-fourth birthday may not be spared by the hand of time to fulfil the promises which he thus makes; yet Lord Dundonald, at his present time of life, is probably capable of quite as much mental exertion as many men who are twenty years his juniors. Certainly the volume now before us contains no traces of the feebleness of advancing age. Every incident is clearly and briefly told. In fact, the author of this volume has always shown, in addition to many other splendid intellectual gifts, the power of expressing himself in writing with remarkable vigour and lucidity. He has displayed this talent on many and various occasions. In the official letters which described his own singular successes in command of a British frigate, the merits both of captain and crew were brought before the authorities in the most distinct and emphatic manner. And when the gallant seaman stood before the Court of Queen's Bench to receive sentence for alleged participation in an infamous conspiracy, he read to the Court a written argument in support of his own application for a new trial which every lawyer must confess is a model of perspicuous reasoning. Indeed, it appears highly probable that, if this unfortunate victim of judicial prejudice could have perceived before his trial the danger in which he really stood, and had taken his defence into his own hands, instead of leaving it as he did to the counsel of guilty co-defendants, the long hesitation of the jury which convicted him would have been changed into a prompt acquittal. The ignorance of the world ashore, and of its wicked ways, which used to be ascribed to sailors, will, when it meets us in play or novel, appear less surprising if we have read the story of how Lord Dundonald, a man of spotless honour and of almost unrivalled fame, allowed himself to become involved in dubious connexions which caused a very general belief that he was guilty of the base artifices imputed to him.

Lord Dundonald, as pictured by his own hand, reminds us of the French marshal who was said never to be thoroughly himself until the musket-balls were whistling about his ears. On shore this restless spirit busied itself in writing troublesome letters to the Admiralty, making motions inconvenient to Ministers in Parliament, taking out patents for inventions of which obstinate authorities refused to perceive the value, and finally getting itself entangled in a sort of legal snare which proved ruinous to all its dearest hopes. But afloat, and in danger from storm or from the enemy, or from both combined, Lord Dundonald became thoroughly at home, and was always ready with a contrivance for every exigency. Methodical veterans may have distrusted his innovating turn of mind and his fondness for strange expedients, just as the old French Government, if it could have survived to see Napoleon raise himself to eminence, would have doubted the military capacity, and perhaps the sanity, of the conqueror of Austria. If Lord Dundonald had found an opportunity of commanding a British fleet in time of war, it would have been impossible to impute to him, even within the last ten years, that he clung too fondly to venerable traditions, and lagged

\* *The Autobiography of a Seaman.* By Thomas, Tenth Earl of Dundonald, G.C.B., Admiral of the Red, Rear-Admiral of the Fleet, &c. &c. Vol. I. London: Bentley. 1860.

behind the march of improvement in modern times. We really believe that if he had been sent into the Black Sea against the Russians he would have shown himself, although seventy-eight years old, active and enterprising enough to satisfy, and sometimes to surprise, the correspondents of the London newspapers. It appears highly probable that, if he had been employed against Sebastopol, the only obstacle that could have stood in his way would have been the necessity of availing himself of the assistance of our French allies. As for any Russian garrison holding the place long before the unfettered and unimpaired genius of Lord Dundonald directing a competent force against them, we can scarcely bring ourselves to think it possible. But was that genius really as bright and strong in 1854 as when, in 1809, it drove a hostile fleet to the verge of self-destruction? Prince Eugene, in his last campaign, had grown through age too cautious to ask anything of fortune, and so he looked on from his entrenchments while the French army, under the Duke of Berwick, besieged and took a German fortress. But that valiant servant of the house of Austria had gained in his more vigorous years fifteen victories, and could not afford to expose his splendid reputation to the smallest chance of a defeat. Lord Dundonald, on the other hand, has reached the rank of Admiral in his country's navy, and never to this day has had the choice to seek or to decline a battle. Still the few seasoned veterans who "be so strong that they attain to fourscore years," cannot reasonably claim to inspire Governments and people with perfect confidence in their vigour and decision at the head of fleets and armies. Whatever some gentlemen of the press may think, capturing Sebastopol is a very different thing from writing a good book. It must suffice Lord Dundonald in his old age that he has produced a volume which, as a mere literary effort, almost any living author might be proud of at his very prime of power. To do the deeds of which that volume tells demanded a high and rare capacity, to which the faculties that gain honour and reward in peaceful life can scarcely be compared without presumption.

Lord Dundonald's father showed an ingenious and speculative mind. He made several discoveries in the application of chemistry to manufactures which have proved useful to posterity, and which led their inventor into commercial enterprises that swallowed up his whole fortune. Lord Dundonald's mother was the daughter of a distinguished naval officer, who, in 1758, fought and captured a French frigate off Yarmouth. He had an early yearning towards the sea, which long contended with his father's destination of him for the army. After much debate, the boy's uncle, Sir Alexander Cochrane, was allowed to take him as a midshipman on board his frigate. On joining this ship he found the first lieutenant "dressed in the garb of a seaman, with marlinspike slung round his neck, and a lump of grease in his hat, busily employed in setting up the rigging." This officer had been promoted from the forecable to the quarter-deck. He was thoroughly master of all a seaman's duties, and under him Lord Dundonald strove diligently to learn how to do with his own hands everything which it might at any time become necessary to order to be done by others. One of the most important lessons which the book before us teaches is, that its author owed much of his unflinching readiness of resource to his early and perfect familiarity with every detail of the business of the smith, the shipwright, the rigger, the seaman, and the gunner. As he says himself, he was admiral, captain, lieutenant, and carpenter to the naval force with which he conducted one of his most marvellous enterprises against the Spaniards on the coast of Chili. On many occasions he could thank his rough apprenticeship under "Jack Larmour" for expedients which delivered him from difficulties where an officer of ordinary education would have been quite helpless. He thinks that at the present day the practical training of the service is not what it was. Everything, he says, is done for the officers by the dockyards. For men, he fears, we are now too apt to substitute machines. Nor can it be denied that our peaceful and inventive age does display a tendency which in time of war might not prove altogether free from danger. Mechanical contrivances to save labour on board ships of war are often spoken of as a great improvement of recent times. But Lord Dundonald, we can see, would prefer to have the men; and this opinion which he indicates deserves the more attention because he has been throughout life the earnest advocate of every real improvement in the naval service, with a mind ever in advance of the authorities under whom he acted, and constantly suggesting to them novel methods of proceeding of which official tardiness either long delayed or altogether failed to recognise the utility.

The ruin of his father's fortunes deprived Lord Dundonald of all regular education. He, however, studied assiduously whatever came within his reach. His intellectual appetite was eager, and his fare sometimes curious, since he tells us that he had imbibed the notion of a current spurious philosophy that there was no such thing as pain. This fallacy was routed by the practical argument of an accident which caused, for a short time, acute suffering. His naval career commenced at a later age than those of other distinguished admirals. He first went on board ship in the year 1793, within three months after the declaration of war by France; and he was then more than seventeen years old. He says that "hard necessity, no less than maturity," made him a reflective midshipman. It ought not to be forgotten, in estimating the literary merit of the work before us, that its author was almost entirely

a self-taught man. It is true that during the short peace with France, in 1802, Lord Dundonald, being then a post-captain, entered himself at the University of Edinburgh among students ten years or more his juniors. This is a striking proof of his ardent thirst for knowledge. His aims were high—his reliance on his natural powers was boundless. How sad it is to trace the steps of a career which opened with such brilliant promise, and advanced with ever-increasing splendour, to a dark and disastrous end! The life of Lord Dundonald is one of the most painful pages in the book of history. The journal which he kept on his first cruise furnishes the material for one of his early chapters. How mournful is the retrospect thus suggested! "The reperusal of these remarks calls forth somewhat of the freshness of boyhood to a mind worn down not so much with age as with unmerited injuries, which have embittered a long life, and rendered even the failings of age premature." These are pathetic words, and they are spoken by a British admiral who has wanted nothing but opportunity to equal the fame of Nelson. The life of Lord Dundonald has been prolonged beyond the usual term, to give to his country the opportunity, while he yet lives, of making a late reparation to him for his cruel wrongs. It is well for all who value that country's character, and desire in future years to see her served as nobly as of old, that Lord Dundonald did not fall by the sword or by disease in Chili, whence he would have seemed to cry from the tomb to the nation which had contumeliously expelled him, "Ungrateful country, thou shalt not possess my ashes!" Happily, we have learned our fault while yet it is possible to atone for it. The deepest pang of those who sorrow for the dead, that while they were alive they did not love and honour them as they might have done, will not be—or at least ought not to be—ours, when at last the brave Earl of Dundonald rests from his toil and trouble in the tranquil sleep of death. We shall not have to ask with bitter but unavailing grief—

Can Honour's voice provoke the silent dust?

To the living hero let his country's thanks be paid; and may the memory of his deeds, as well as of the late but ample honours which they won, be preserved evermore as one of the noblest traditions of the British navy.

After about six years' service, principally in North America, Lord Dundonald was appointed a lieutenant of the *Barfleur*, which then carried the flag of Lord Keith, the second in command to Lord St. Vincent in the Mediterranean. The British fleet usually cruised off Cadiz, blockading the Spaniards in that harbour. It is sometimes made a topic for alarmists in our own day that a possible combination of Continental Powers might bring upon our navy a formidable superiority of hostile force. Let us see how, sixty years ago, a British admiral could meet such a danger. Lord St. Vincent was an invalid, and residing ashore at Gibraltar. Lord Keith, with fifteen sail of the line, was watching Cadiz from his accustomed station. In the harbour lay twenty Spanish line-of-battle ships ready for sea. A French fleet of twenty-six sail of the line, which had quitted Brest without encountering the British blockading fleet, appeared in the offing, with the supposed object of effecting a junction with the Spanish ships. Lord Keith, with his fifteen ships, lay between the two hostile fleets. He prepared to receive the French attack, trusting that the adverse wind would prevent the Spaniards from quitting port in time to share in the expected battle. But even if this hope had proved well-founded, the British would still have had to contend against a superiority of five to three. Nevertheless, Lord Keith firmly held his ground, although, as he said himself, he was "between the devil and the deep sea." But the French admiral declined making an attack which might have crippled some of his ships, and hindered other operations which he had in view. This system, which the French pursued on many occasions during the great war, of refusing advantageous battle for the sake of carrying out some plan of extensive combinations, is by no means to be attributed to lack of courage; but its result undoubtedly was, in course of years, to undermine the spirit of their navy. The opposite and simple rule of fighting always, even if one cannot always hope to win, has been pursued by many British officers; and if it were necessary to choose between the two methods, the preference of this country would be unhesitatingly given to the latter. The professional career of Lord Keith was not marked by any great action. We can see, however, from his conduct in the grave emergency above described, that his country's honour was safe where he held command. The same conclusion may be drawn from the respect and confidence which he inspired both in Lord Nelson and in Lord Dundonald.

On attaining commander's rank, Lord Dundonald was appointed to a small brig called the *Speedy*, in which he attacked and captured a Spanish frigate of fully six times the force of his own vessel. For this exploit he was made post-captain; but as he had already begun to give trouble to the Admiralty, he was left for nearly two years without a ship, and then sent for a fifteen months' cruise in a mere tub—a worthless collier, which had been purchased into the service at a high price in order to propitiate some trafficker in borough influence. It is wonderful how, in those days, the British navy managed to bear up under the fearful load of official jobbery which weighed upon it. Not until 1805, the year of the battle of Trafalgar, did Lord Dundonald obtain the command of such a ship as enabled

him to show what he really was. He had then been for four years a post-captain, without the smallest chance of doing any effective service. However, his abilities soon shone forth. Within a fortnight after he sailed from Plymouth he had made a fortune out of Spanish prizes. For the next four years he was almost constantly employed; and although he never held the absolute command of more than a single frigate, he managed to get through an amount of work which a fleet and an army might have been proud to divide between them. Again and again he showed the inexhaustible fertility of his genius for war, both by sea and land. At first sight his exploits might be ascribed to reckless, brainless hardihood, which cared neither for his own nor for others' lives. Yet he was always most careful of his ship and crew; and every step that he took, however sudden and surprising it may appear, will be found on examination to have been adopted on deliberate calculation, and the most attentive observation of all the circumstances amid which he was called upon to act. When the Admiralty applied to him, in 1809, to suggest some means of assailing the French fleet off Rochefort, he was ready instantly with a plan which carried conviction of its practicability; and yet the Admiralty had been told by many distinguished officers whom they had consulted that the French fleet lying in Aix Roads was unsailable according to the received rules of naval warfare. We have lately described the action in Basque and Aix Roads in an article in which we epitomized the chief events of the period comprised in the fourth volume of James's *Naval History*.\* It is one among many proofs of the diligence and impartiality of that work that, upon comparing our account derived from it with the history now before us of the proceedings in Basque Roads as narrated by the chief actor in them, we find little that is at all material to add to or alter in what we have already written. Upon one point Lord Dundonald would probably consider that we had done him deliberate injustice if we did not qualify the article to which we have referred. We have stated, upon the authority of Mr. James, that one of the fire-ships under Lord Dundonald's orders broke the boom which protected the French fleet, and thus opened the passage for other fire-ships which followed it. Lord Dundonald states that he himself destroyed the boom by the explosion of fifteen hundred barrels of gunpowder, placed in a vessel which was fitted under his orders as a sort of gigantic mortar, and which he personally conducted in a dark night to the exact point where this explosion would be most effective. He says that the concussion of the water shook the boom to pieces, and it disappeared; and we think he has satisfactorily proved that all the credit of this daring service belongs to him. Of the results of that service, it must suffice now to say that the French fleet was struck with panic and given over to destruction, had not the irresolution of the British Admiral, Lord Gambier, wasted the hours of decisive action. Lord Dundonald's volume closes at this point. In the volume which is yet to come he will describe how he again found himself ashore and unemployed through the official hatred which he provoked by his exposure in Parliament of the incapacity of the British Admiral, whose presence in Basque Roads alone saved the French fleet from utter ruin. In this interval of inactivity, Lord Dundonald formed connexions with persons whose bad aims and characters were unsuspected by him. Those persons concocted a plan of causing the funds to rise by spreading false news of peace. Lord Dundonald was tried and found guilty as a partaker in this conspiracy; and the conviction was followed by his expulsion from the British navy. His innocence has been long established to the satisfaction of all who have investigated the case. When he publishes his second volume, it will be made more widely known how terrible was the wrong done to him under the name of justice.

#### KITCHI-GAMI†

**KITCHI-GAMI** is the Indian name for Lake Superior, and the book to which this title is given contains the observations of M. Kohl, the well-known German traveller, on the habits and characters of the Indian tribes who inhabit the shores and islands of the Lake. M. Kohl has many of the qualities which enable a civilized man to pick up the kind of information about savage nations which other civilized men care to possess. He is patient, pains-taking, fond of gossip, not above his work, and yet with some degree of method in his manner of collecting materials. Of course there is very little in his book which is absolutely new. The Red Indians have been visited, described, drawn, and bodily decayed to England until we have had abundant opportunities of amplifying, verifying, or qualifying the conception which we have most of us formed about them in our youth from reading Cooper's novels. But there is one point of view in which these red men have not been sufficiently regarded hitherto, and it is one on which M. Kohl's new book throws considerable light. The Indians are fading away. In a few generations they will be gone. While they are still in existence, we may collect facts which will tend to elucidate the very interesting question as to the conditions under which an inferior race dwindles away before a superior. Why do these Red

Indians die off? Sometimes an inferior race will hold its own in presence of nations vastly superior. The negro does not die away before the white man. History shows us a hundred instances in which a hunting and savage tribe has learnt the arts of peace and settled life, and has taken its place, under proper instruction, in the community of nations. And yet there are hunting tribes, well treated, converted to Christianity, manly in bodily constitution, possessed of considerable virtues, that are to be seen at the present day rapidly fading away in spite of the anxiety of their more advanced rulers or neighbours to preserve them. We have not yet facts in a number nearly sufficient to enable us to give an account of the process or to trace its causes. But we may carefully note all the characteristics of each expiring race, and thus in time a body of evidence will be collected. M. Kohl seems to have had this object in view when he was making his inquiries among the inhabitants of Lake Superior, but unfortunately he does not arrange his facts with reference to it. The great fault of the volume is that its parts are unconnected. No one subject is taken, discussed, and set aside; but a variety of subjects are taken, dropped, and resumed according to the accidents of his travels. If we were to attempt to arrange his facts under distinct heads, we should have to rewrite his book; but we may allude to a few of the more important topics for the treatment of which his book affords materials. What we want to know is this—to what degree of moral, intellectual, and physical excellences has this expiring race attained? And after reading M. Kohl's book we are able to come to some sort of opinion on the subject.

Moral excellence may be tested negatively and positively. We may ask what a nation thinks wrong, and what it thinks, and in some measure acts up to, as right. Very often to know the latter is more important than to know the former. The great degradation of savage tribes is cannibalism. The Red Indians are not cannibals, but then how do they regard cannibalism? With what amount of moral detestation do they keep aloof from it. Tribes that live by hunting on dreary, snowy solitudes must often feel the temptation; and if they resist it with a fixed horror, this alone shows a quickness of moral feeling. Among the Indians there are cannibals—that is, there are individuals who bear the name of Windigo, and who are known or suspected to have killed their fellow-creatures for food. They have generally had to choose between dying themselves of starvation and eating a human being, and have chosen to live. They are thenceforth regarded by every Indian of every tribe as outcasts. They are not punished as for a distinct crime, but they are considered to have cut themselves off from the pale of social and family life. They are driven off to wander over the earth. Not unfrequently this chastisement of the crime provokes its repetition. The Windigo, rendered desperate by starvation, and at enmity with his kind, hovers on the outskirts of a settlement that he may secure a victim, and thus gratify his revenge while he appeases his hunger. He is then remorselessly shot down by the first man that sees him approach. But so great is the horror which cannibalism inspires, that instances are not rare in which a person who has never committed the crime goes forth into the gloomy exile of the Windigo from the fascination which brooding over horrors exercises on minds that are naturally gloomy, reserved, and excitable. The feeling seems to be not unlike that into which pondering on the doctrine of reprobation has plunged men of nervous and brooding dispositions in periods when a morbid spiritual excitement has been created by the action of mind on mind during a common outburst of religious fervour. We must not press such analogies too closely; but if we can in any measure compare the general feeling of sin in the civilized man under such circumstances with the horror of cannibalism entertained by the Indians, we gain a notion of the point of moral sensitiveness which may be attributed to the tribes whom M. Kohl visited.

Most of the virtues of the Indians—their bravery, steadfastness, parental affection, and fidelity—have been amply treated by M. Kohl's predecessors. But he has added particulars which enable us to judge in some measure, not only of their special excellences, but of their general theory of life. He studied many of their hieroglyphics written on birch-bark; and although most of them related to sacred legends, or the deeds of the writer or older heroes, yet there was a fair scattering of signs that corresponded to the moral remarks of civilized life. The Indians seem fond of alluding to life under the obvious symbols of a tree or a path, and they indicate the upward aspirations by the figure of a man looking at a cluster of stars. A people must have reflected on existence here and beyond the grave before they can thus typify to themselves their duties and position on earth. In such symbols we see the signs of feelings, at once moral and poetical, which coexist so often in barbarous life with coarse conceptions of futurity. The Indians bury a pipe, or even a gun, with the dead, that the lost one may have comfort and protection on his long journey. But they also have thoughts much more highly refined, and look on heaven as the reward of earthly excellence. Perhaps there is nothing which more clearly indicates their superiority to other nations with which they might naturally be compared than their belief that the enmities that have divided their tribes on earth will cease in heaven. It is true that they cannot quite bring themselves to believe that the white and the red man will dwell in the same heaven; but it must be remembered that there is a considerable portion of the nominally Christian world that would secretly shrink from the notion of a negro bearing them company above.

\* See the *Saturday Review* of October 22, 1859.

† *Kitchi-gami: Wanderings round Lake Superior*. By J. G. Kohl. London: Chapman and Hall, 1859.

The custom, also, of procuring the "dream of life," minutely described by M. Kohl, betokens how far the Indians rise above a merely sensual existence. At the outset of manhood the son is sent by his father to a lonely place, where he makes himself a nest in a tree, and there lies fasting until the exhaustion of the body produces a sort of feverish trance, in which the dreamer sees visions shadowing out his future career. These visions do not rise above the level of the society to which the Indian belongs. The happiest man only dreams that he is to kill his enemies, and be a great hunter. But the mere fact that the future is held to be so important a part of the present, that young men go through great and protracted bodily pain in order to know what is coming to them, at once separates the Red Indian by an immeasurable distance from the savage tribes which only live from hand to mouth, and are as reckless of the future as the brute beasts around them.

The writings of modern philologists have accustomed us to look to the language of a people as one of the principal criteria of their intellectual advance. It is, therefore, worth noticing that, as M. Kohl informs us, the language of the Ojibbeways shows such richness and nicety that dreams are divided in it into various classes, and each has a special name. There are many distinct words denoting the different kinds of bad dreams, impure dreams, ominous dreams, and good dreams. It is also a curious fact that the symbolical language of the Indians is universal, and that a person who, by motions of the body, can indicate his meaning in the accepted way, can pass through the whole breadth of America and make himself understood, although the spoken languages of the tribes present such considerable differences. This shows that the Indians must have strongly felt the necessity of a universal language, and understood how to accomplish what they wished. Nor are there other marks wanting of an advance towards the rudiments of civilized life, which may make us still more at a loss to understand why the Indians should find the approach of civilization so fatal. Even in England there is hardly a stronger sense of property, a greater tenacity in claiming it, or a more definite system of appropriation, than among the Red Indians. Where the white man has not removed his Indian neighbour's landmark, not only the land, but bushes, and even stones, are all made the subjects of strict ownership. This is not what we might have expected in a population depending so largely for support on the precarious subsistence derived from hunting over wide tracts of land; and if we did not know to the contrary, we might have supposed that the capacity to understand what property really means, as distinguished from temporary occupation, would have established a consequent capacity to stand the shock of civilization. M. Kohl, who has travelled widely in the remoter parts of Russia, compares the songs of the Sioux with those of the Cossacks, both having the same sweet and melancholy cadence. Why cannot we carry the parallel further? With equal musical powers, with a language as rich, with frames as strong, with moral feelings as keen, and moral convictions as true, why does the Red Indian see before him a fate from which every one would consider the Cossack secure?

M. Kohl does not give us nearly so much information as we could have desired as to the effect of Christianity on the Indians, and as to the extent to which they become nominally converted. It would seem, however, as if they instinctively seized hold of the side of Christianity which teaches resignation under inevitable misfortune; and if this is so, we can understand how they have opened their ears to the Christian missionaries, and yet have not found any new strength in their religion to help them in their conflict with earthly calamity. The Indian has always been resigned, patient, and perhaps stolid under pain, and reckless of the morrow. Now that he is converted, he translates his old habitual feelings into Christian language. If, however, Christianity does not teach him to ward off his coming doom, this is no fault of the teachers who make it the business of their lives to minister to him. Perhaps in no part of the world is the Roman Catholic Church seen to greater advantage than in its Indian missions. It would be impossible to exceed the devotion with which the priests give up their lives to their arduous and wearisome task, and the zeal which never permits distance or weather to interpose a barrier if a call for spiritual ministrations is borne to them. When the Red Indians are gone, the priests will at least have the satisfaction of thinking that they and their brethren have done all in their power to soften the painful process of decay, and they may fairly claim that their good deeds to the Northern Indians should be set in the balance as a slight counterpoise to the wholesale slaughter of American heathens wrought by the first fanatical conquerors in the name of the Cross.

#### LIBERTY HALL.\*

WE congratulate Mr. Charles Reade on his immunity from one of the sorest drawbacks of greatness—the lack of a worthy successor. The author of *Liberty Hall* will fully represent before a younger generation the peculiar style, both of thought and diction, of which his uncle is the great inventor. In his preface, Mr. Winwood Reade modestly expresses a doubt whether his uncle, to whom the work is dedicated, will find more than a few chapters worthy of his approval. It is a modesty natural in youth, but, on the present occasion, entirely misplaced.

\* *Liberty Hall*, Oxon. By W. Winwood Reade. 3 Vols. London: C. J. Skeet. 1860.

We are sure Mr. Charles Reade will discern in *Liberty Hall* the reflected portrait of his own genius, with all its charms heightened by the flush of hot-blooded youth. Our author's style presents the same refreshing alternation of rhapsodies and epigrams, and derives the same jerky force from the judicious omission, in powerful passages, of the article and the verb. He has the same delicate art of damning an institution by filling it with morality of his own imagining and the creatures of his own fancy. And, as for the sentiments, which are Mr. Charles Reade's strong point, would not the following pithy sentence serve for an appropriate motto for *Never too Late to Mend*?—

The courtesan makes often the most faithful wife, the criminal the best Christian, the poacher the most upright gamekeeper, and the rake the most sincere adviser.

The plot of the novel is very simple, and the moral which it is intended to point is one that will commend itself deeply to many a youthful mind. Its object is to expose the wickednesses of Oxford generally, and, above all, that especial wickedness which is displayed in plucking a young man for little-go on account of bad Latin composition. The author feels deeply and expounds at great length the horrible consequences of this atrocity. We ourselves must frankly confess that we never before had any notion of the extent of the evils that flow from this criminal act of the examiners. It will not only make a young man abandon Oxford and literature altogether, it will not only plunge him into a very odd sort of revels, where—to quote the hero's own account of it—"I, with cheeks flushed with wine, and hair crowned with flowers, drank on and on, while women dragged me to their bosoms, to their laps, and fought in order to caress me;" but it will make him commit a seduction of peculiar atrocity under his father's own roof. We do not think that this specific influence of a pluck upon the animal passions has been sufficiently considered by the examiners, and we strongly recommend them to lay aside the practice altogether, except in the case of old men. The only cure, however, for those who have been thus afflicted is to go to Shetland, to which islands one volume of the book is dedicated, apparently for no other reason than that our author spent a long vacation there. When you have arrived in Shetland it seems to be necessary, in order to complete your cure, to propose to a young lady of the country, and to show your confidence in her by describing, with exact date and other particulars, the seduction into which that wicked plucking had previously driven you.

It has been an interesting occupation to scholars in all ages to extract from works that have descended to them some information concerning the biography of their authors. How much ink has not been expended in disputing about the early life and education of Shakespeare? Mr. Winwood Reade, when he shall have descended to his grave, full of honours, the father of a large progeny of coarse novels, will not give posterity so much trouble. It is clear on the surface of his work that his acquaintance with Oxford, if ever it existed, can only have been very brief and superficial. We should have thought that even a freshman would not have talked of Fellows' wives, would not have made one of his heroes look at Tom Gate from a room in Canterbury—above all, would not have represented the Dean of Christchurch (ye shades of Gaisford!) as giving College lectures. On the other hand, he is acquainted with some of the *arcana* of Oxford life. He can describe how heads are washed at Spiers's, and takes the opportunity of calling the shopmen swindlers (vol. i. p. 343), for which most gratuitous libel we trust Mr. Spiers will prosecute him. He is very glib with University slang, knows the differences in organization between a College and a Hall, and presents us with a minute account of what fast men do in milliners' shops at Woodstock, which cannot be wholly an effort of imagination. He likewise knows the expense of a ride, and is careful to give the price of indecent stereoscopic slides—a piece of information which, however, might have been acquired in the haunts of metropolitan vice. This mixture of ignorance and knowledge implies a brief, though not an uneventful, residence at the University—possibly cut short by one of those sad occurrences in the schools of which he laments the consequences in such moving language. At all events, the experiences of a fast inmate of a Hall are overshadowed later on by the experiences of a medical student. We do not think anybody but a medical student would have made his heroine die of pericarditis; and at any rate there are allusions showing a familiarity with the more revolting, however necessary, branches of medical practice, which betray a union, happily rare, of the sensualist and the healer.

Wherever he has been, and wherever he has picked up the views of mankind which he has clothed in the prolix and weary verbiage of these pages, we cannot compliment him either on his male or his female acquaintance. He appears to have been blest with a very strange set of friends among the undergraduates. It is rather the fashion for those novelists, from Peter Priggins downwards, who profess to initiate the outer world into the mysteries of Oxford life, to represent the University as an Epicurean sty, with a cross of Tattersall's about it. They are driven into this mode of treatment, partly because the life of a man *in statu pupillari*, unless he grossly misbehaves, is too uneventful to be worth describing—partly by the difficulty of finding the indispensable female element of a novel, except by looking for it

in equivocal society. But Mr. Reade out-herods all his predecessors on this point, for he represents Oxford men as not only fast, but vulgar. The undergraduates whom he thinks worth describing are a sort of literary gents, half swinish, half sentimental, and entirely snobbish. They do not read—nobody in the book does that, except a sour Evangelical, and a plodding dunce who ultimately gets plucked. But they are so fastidious about dress that they will cut a friend whose hat is unbrushed; they are familiar with every kind of vice; and they amuse themselves with vulgar and indecent practices which it is a libel to assert, not only of Oxford, but of any home of English life. They vindicate, however, their claim to intellectuality by talking to each other in long, melodramatic rhapsodies of two or three pages apiece, which are apparently intended to imitate the bombastic effusions of Mr. Charles Reade, but which few people except reviewers will have the courage to read through. It is the sort of thing General Havelock says to Nana Sahib at Astley's. These young men are the exceptions—the jewels out of the ore, as our author, with a slight mineralogical confusion, expresses himself. The "generality," "the great class of well-born, well brought-up, gentlemanly undergraduates," our author describes as follows:—

Handsoms, well-dressed young fellows, distinguished chiefly by their snow-wall collars, their protruding wrist-bands, their bunches of dangling watch chain bijouterie, their attention to appearance displayed in their hair pomaded to dazzlement, their handkerchiefs perfumed to saturation, their young whiskers overwhelmed with assiduity, and on their cravats the patience, if not the talent, of a Brummell. Their veneration for fashion might be discerned in the uniform cut of their dress, changed every month at the dictation of the leading tailors, and which has so often lifted the eyebrows of Belgravia. Their conversation ran on the stage, of which they knew nothing; or on the world, in which they had no experience; and on their own street dirt, of which they knew too much. They choked up the interstices of their talk with oaths, and daubed over their ignorance of English with a profusion of slang.

That he may have found models in Oxford to sit for this picture is perhaps possible—that he should have imagined them to be the type of the great class of well brought-up undergraduates, only betrays an acquaintance more scanty than select. But at what College or Hall he can have come across the original of the following description of an Oxford breakfast it is beyond us to divine:—

By half-past nine all were settled down to their work. There was no talking, or rather no conversation; occasional phrases flew about, but all relating to the great business on hand. Pass the cow (milk), will you? Let me have a steak. Is that tea or coffee by you? Don't take all my gravy off with your elbows. Bones! oh, chuck them under the table, Pooley won't mind. And so on.

It was a remarkable, but swinish sight. The table was the trough, and the trough was full. When a man had finished his fish he plastered a clean plate on top of his dirty one, and fed away again. Clatter, confusion, discomfort, crunching jaws, and bent heads.

Such is a large college-breakfast—an expensive, unsocial, villanous custom; an assembly of young men to gorge and stupefy themselves with ill-cooked food, which they wash down with draughts of heavy beer.

Of these descriptions we are inclined to say, as some German critic said of St. John's Gospel, that they are to be taken rather as an overflow of the author's subjectivity than as a narrative of fact.

Much the same explanation must be given of Mr. W. Reade's estimate of the feminine world. There are three heroines in the book. Of these, one is the hero's betrothed, to whom he confides the details of his previous experiences in the matter of seduction, and who, through the medium of the stethoscope, inspired her doctor with such vivid emotions that, when he thought of the operation, "he could stand no longer—he was driven to walk, to run." The second heroine is the subject of his confidences to the first. She is intended to be a heroine of the *Die Vernon* order; but it is a vulgar, hoydenish *Die Vernon*, sadly splashed and defiled by the filth of the imagination through which she has passed. If the verb "seduce" is to be applied to the relations between her and the hero at all, it is difficult to say in which voice it should be employed. The third heroine is a prim young lady "with a virtuous-cast of countenance . . . the sort you would take for your Madonna . . . with eyes so sweet and so limpid that you might read, or fancy that you read, all the secrets of her heart therein." The author seems to have been permitted to penetrate into the inmost souls of virtuous-looking young ladies, and philanthropically gives the result to the less privileged portion of his sex. We cannot undertake to follow him. There are specimens of coarseness and vulgarity which are safe from the critic's hands, because he cannot print them without repeating the offence. Suffice it to say that this young lady, Constance by name, talks in a ball-room in a way that, if imitated by a man, would ensure his being peremptorily kicked out of the house, and spends her Sundays in the keen enjoyment of the peculiar literature which the present Lord Chancellor has induced the Legislature cruelly to proscribe. The subsidiary females are mostly painted after the same pattern. If the author was asked to define a woman, he would probably reply, "An animal that breaks the seventh commandment, and induces others to break it too." This is, of course, not an uncommon theory with a certain class of minds, and is very satisfactory to the foxes that have already lost their tails.

The virtuous-looking young lady is made to defend her anti-Campbell studies by the excuse that "the day was so cold and the book was so warm." Probably it was a similar feeling which induced Mr. Reade to publish the abundant outpourings

of his heart at this season of the year—coals, too, being so high. If there be any young gentlemen whose passion for impropriety is so imperious that they are content to wade through a hundred pages of the inane trash for the sake of each oasis of license, to them we confidently recommend this book. But we would advise no mothers to send for it who do not wish to give their daughters an education like that of Mademoiselle Lemoine. Nor do we counsel circulating libraries to send it out, if they value their own credit; for we believe it to be the filthiest book that has been issued by a respectable English publisher during the lifetime of the present generation. It is the most successful combination of the nasty and the dull that has been effected for many a long day; and we know not which to wonder at most—that a man should have been found to put his name to a book at once so replete with coarseness and so dreadfully witless, or that a decent bookseller should have been found to publish it. Its extreme vulgarity and bad taste would hardly have merited our notice; but we could not pass by an attempt to introduce into English literature the most repulsive type of French novel under the shelter of a popular name. However, Mr. W. Reade knows better than we do that it is "never too late to mend." We trust, before he writes again, that his acquaintance among both sexes will have improved; or at least that, if it retains its present character, he will keep his gallery of portraits to himself.

#### NOTES ON NURSING.\*

MISS NIGHTINGALE'S expedition to Scutari is the single bright spot in one of our gloomiest national reminiscences. Englishmen will not easily forget the terrible period of failure, perplexity, and almost despair which first called their heroic countrywoman to a post of public responsibility. They remember with pride and gratitude how the exigencies of a great crisis were bravely and successfully met by her genius, experience, and resolution. It was when its need was the sorest that she came to her country's aid. The state of things at the seat of war was becoming absolutely disastrous. A European peace of forty years had rendered the nation unusually sensitive to the horrors of war; and now its worst horrors were pressing thick upon us. Day by day the public mind was stung to the quick by some piece of bad news, some fresh instance of confusion or imprudence, of ineffectual means or conflicting arrangements. The old machinery was not only insufficient, but it crippled the efforts of the devoted and energetic men who were called to work it. Silence reigned on the heights of Sebastopol from the sheer inability of the besiegers to continue the fight. They were engaged with a more deadly foe than the grim assailants who crept upon them at Inkermann. Cold and wet and hunger were doing their work by wholesale, and the sad story soon reached us in all its horrible distinctness. Englishwomen heard of the cruel sufferings to which their sons, brothers, and husbands were exposed—of long fasts and bad food—of weakened, diseased, and half-clad soldiers shivering through long nights in the trenches, and returning to rot uncares-for in their tents—and, worse than all, of wounded men tossing for days in densely-crowded vessels, arriving at Scutari with wounds still undressed, or lying for hours together in helpless misery on the quays at Constantinople. The condition of the hospitals was a fitting sequel to the rest of the tragedy. Crowd, filth, absence of medicine, insufficient attendants, unhealthy buildings, incapable agents, conflicting authorities—all conspired to make up a total of horror perfectly agonizing to a humane and generous nation. It was upon this scene of action that Miss Nightingale, with a noble temerity, consented to accept the responsibilities of office. Before many weeks the least credulous were convinced that the right person had been found for a great emergency. The reign of chaos was ended, and fair order, with its train of blessings, had already taken possession of the abdicated throne. Disease and suffering and death still indeed ran their course—but they ran it with a feebler current, and within narrowed bounds. We had the intense relief of knowing that the matter, terrible as it was, had been entrusted to the best possible hands—that we had sent our suffering countrymen the best of all possible offerings—the delicate consideration, the calm sagacity, the clear intellect that could organize the new and adapt the old—prudence that knew how to be venturesome, gentleness that could yet be imperative, patience untiring by weakness. The post was a dangerous one, but it would be wisely and bravely held. The master-mind was there, and already we could endure the present, and could look to future vicissitudes with confidence and even cheerfulness.

Hundreds of brave men attested with their dying breath how nobly that self-imposed task had been fulfilled, and the little book which Miss Nightingale has just published would be almost enough to explain her success. Its tone seems to tell us of the solemn scenes from which experience in such matters has to be gained. Its language is grave, earnest, and impetuous, like that of a person who has lived among sad realities, and has been face to face with almost every form of human suffering. Miss Nightingale's object is "to give hints for thought to women who have personal charge of the health of others," and in doing this she shows how difficult a task the nurse's is, and how many high qualities are essential to its satisfactory fulfilment. As to the

\* *Notes on Nursing.* By Florence Nightingale. London: Harrison.

absolute necessity of open windows, abundance of fresh air, and entire cleanliness in every detail of food and clothing, Miss Nightingale endorses the opinions which, we hope, are now beginning to find general acceptance. Perfect ventilation is the first grand necessity. Children's nurseries and schoolrooms, close dormitories, crowded hospital wards, unaired cottages, are often mere hotbeds where the body is ripened for death, and slight forms of sickness are matured into worse. Even intelligent people are far too apt "to look upon diseases as separate entities which must exist like cats and dogs, instead of looking upon them as conditions, like a dirty and a clean condition, and just as much in our own control, or rather as the reactions of kindly nature against the conditions in which we have placed ourselves." Miss Nightingale says that she has often seen a disease—smallpox, for instance—growing up in first specimens, and then gradually passing into another, under the favourable conditions of bad air and smells. Pure water and good drainage fall of course under the same category of essentials; and carpets, old paper-hangings, dark musty rooms, are very often the real causes of attacks which are regarded as "mysterious visitations," but are in reality just as explicable as any of the most ordinary physical phenomena.

It is in the petty management of the sick that Miss Nightingale's suggestions seem to us the most interesting. She gives us a capital philosophy of noises, for which we are sure she is entitled to the eternal gratitude of every invalid. Unnecessary noises, or those which excite expectation, are those which really do a patient harm. Talking in a whisper just outside, especially if the patient knows that his own health is the subject of discussion, is thoroughly cruel and mischievous. Then the slow, lingering, uncertain footstep, tortures the listener—the good nurse must have a firm hand and light quick step. Then there should be no lingering in the passage, so as to keep a patient listening for the entrance, and evincing by sharpened features and wild eye the excitement and irritation which must aggravate his malady. The rustle of silk, the creaking of shoes, the rattling of keys, will often do a patient more harm than all the medicines in the world will do him good. On the same principle, hurry, uncertainty, surprise in every form must be avoided. The visitor who wishes to be acceptable should neither fidget about the room, nor show symptoms of inattention, nor occupy a position where the sick man can only look at him by a painful effort. Nor must he be diffuse in expression, so as to display the whole process of thought when its conclusion would be enough. And if he reads aloud—which Miss Nightingale thinks is not often really liked—he must read slowly, and with modulation of voice, and of all things must never, while reading to himself, read out bits for the patient's amusement, thereby constantly interrupting his train of thought, and keeping him in a fever of expectation. The same sort of delicate observation is necessary to make a sick man's room a tolerable abode. Variety is a great secret of cheerfulness and a principal means of recovery. Bright colours, a bunch of flowers, a new picture, a sight out of the window, are sources of perfect ecstasy to the mind long wearied with monotonous suffering. The craving for variety in the starving eye is just as keen a feeling as the craving of the starving body for food, and it is the greatest cruelty to refuse it indulgence. Another great rule is, not to weary and harass a patient with "chattering hopes and advice." Nothing more depresses and fatigues the sick, by driving their attention in upon themselves; and silly unadvised encouragement simply has the effect of making the man to whom it is offered submit from sheer exhaustion, but not the less experience a sort of isolation of thought, and want of true sympathy as regards his thoughtless and unfeeling consolers. The real thing to tell a patient is something with a pleasant interest in it. "A sick person does so enjoy hearing good news—for instance, of a love and courtship which have progressed to a good ending; if you tell him only when the marriage takes place, he loses half the pleasure." "A sick person also intensely enjoys hearing of any material good, any positive or practical success of the right. He has so much of books and fiction, of principles and precepts and theories; do, instead of advising him with advice he has heard at least fifty times before, tell him of one benevolent act which has succeeded practically—it is like a day's health to him."

The few specimens which we have chosen will give but a small idea of the power and wisdom and true goodness which pervade the whole of this little book. We wish it might find its way not only to every hospital and workhouse, but into every school and nursery in the kingdom. Village girls might profitably snatch a few moments from the physical geography of Palestine, or the moral attributes of Pharaoh-Necho, in order to learn how to make cottages healthy and sick people comfortable. But it is not to women alone that the *Notes upon Nursing* will be a profitable study. Men who are deeply immersed in active employments, and have little in their own bodies to remind them of weakness or disease, are constantly tempted to ignore the pathology of life, to dwell exclusively on its healthy, vigorous, and efficient side, and to resent any language or conduct which seems to elevate sickness and distress into the position of prominent and important ingredients in our existence. Such books as this make one realize the falsity of such a view. As society exists, and seems likely to exist to the end of the chapter, imperfections and shortcomings are the rule and not the ex-

ception. In one point of view, it may almost be said that failure stamps life from beginning to end. Every social arrangement is but a more or less unsuccessful approximation to the ideal at which it aims. Remedial measures are among the essentials of our being, and the people who devote themselves to them exclusively are doing the real work of life just as much as those who are busying themselves about trade or art, or struggling manfully through the difficulties of a profession. The world is not simply a place where there is so much work to be done, any more than it is a place where there is so much pleasure to be enjoyed. There are the weary hours of sickness, the hopeless condition of infirmity, the numberless shocks and trials of a nature stimulated by agony into excessive sensitiveness, the long career of suffering, and at last, to the stoutest man of us all, the painful process of death. They are no fools or triflers whose attention is absorbed by the arts which tenderness suggests and devotion performs for the alleviation of troubles so grave and so universal. The people who do know and practise those arts are discharging one of the highest duties of good citizenship. If benevolence is sometimes fussy, it is a great deal better than indifference; and though only a favoured few may be able, like Miss Nightingale, to bring the resources of a powerful and well-trained mind to bear upon the subject, still the heartiest love and admiration are surely due to the thousands of good and unselfish people who, if they cannot rival her ability, contrive with no mean success to imitate her sympathy and devotion.

#### AUSTRALIAN FACTS AND PROSPECTS.\*

TO be called an Oxford boy instead of an Oxford man, when you have just matriculated, and to be assured by a sympathizing friend of your father's that you have grown very much since he last saw you, is one of the sorest wounds human vanity is capable of receiving. The parallel between national and individual life is often thought to be fanciful, but in this respect it fits marvellously well. Nothing insults an Australian so much as to insinuate that Australia, though growing, is still young, and that Europe is as yet the more important continent of the two. Of course, when it comes to facts and figures, the grandeur of Australia is rather apt to melt away, and therefore patriotic colonists prefer to take it out in prophecies. To these there is naturally no limit, except the imagination of the prophets; and accordingly no true Australian thinks of doubting that his own particular capital will, some day or other, be the metropolis of the world. It is with regard to the mother country that their language is the grandest. Four sloops of war could at any time bring the four colonies upon their knees; but, to judge by their tone, one would imagine that nothing but their own exceeding forbearance and condescension prevents them from carrying their independence at the sword's point. Mr. Horne has hardly been long enough away from England to enter into the full colonial spirit on this subject. He looks forward, indeed, to the possibility of the English Sovereign being forced by the aggressions of France to seek a refuge in the colonies; and, after discussing the relative claims of India and Australia, he confidently decides in favour of the latter. He is, however, kind enough to assure us that even the transfer of the seat of empire will not, in his opinion, make Melbourne the equal of London. But, waiting the fulfilment of these bright prospects, he earnestly urges his fellow-colonists to adopt the practical, and not the grandiloquent, estimate of their position. Independence is a fallacious word, implying apparently an increase of freedom, but in reality only a loss of protection; and, at present, the navy of England is the only hindrance that would prevent cruisers from New Caledonia or the Amoor from reaping a rich harvest among the gold-ships of the Australian harbours. In the same spirit he wishes to temper the illusions which returned colonists are fond of spreading with respect to the wealth and development of Australia. He complains, with especial wrath, of a former contributor to the *Sydney Empire*, who, in a book called *Southern Lights and Shadows*, has tried to persuade his brother litterateurs at home that they will find no difficulty in earning 1000*l.* in the pursuit of their calling at Melbourne. Mr. Horne himself has, in time past, belonged to the craft. He tells us that he has described the Dust-heaps, the Dead-meat Market, and the Horse-slaughterer's Yard for *Household Words*, and he still retains sufficient tenderness for his ancient fellow-labourers to try to save them from falling into this snare.

If we are to believe his preface, it was chiefly to rescue Australia and the world at large from these two delusions that the present work was written. But it is a random, hasty composition, thrown together apparently at odd moments, and without any special plan. It enters in an incoherent kind of way into a great many different subjects connected with the colony of Victoria, such as the gold discoveries, the water supply of Melbourne, the state of the land question, and the social habits of the colonists; and it evidently records the result of a large and varied personal experience. There is some poetry, and some autobiography—one treatise on the rifle, and another on finance. But, owing to the total want of method, the whole leaves a painfully indistinct impression on the mind. It was sent home in an unfinished condition, and published as it arrived; and it has very much the appearance

\* *Australian Facts and Prospects*. By R. H. Horne. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1859.

of having arranged itself during the voyage. The political disquisitions with which the book abounds betray a writer of thought and education; but they bear rather the remains than the fruit of the literary power which he appears at one time to have possessed. In one place he speaks of Mr. Buckle's book as in parts worthy of Lord Bacon—in another he sneers at France and England for constructing steam navies, when electricity is certain before long to supersede steam. We must be content to regard such eccentricities merely as indications of the colonial rust which is gradually dimming the brightness of Mr. Dickens's training.

The land question—to which he has given a good deal of attention—is almost the only part of Australian politics that will repay the study of the English reader. It is the great dispute between the squatters, or sheep-farmers, and the democracy of the colony. When first the colony was formed, the squatters and their servants were almost the only population. There was no great tide of emigration setting in, for the colony, from its convict neighbourhood, was in bad repute. There were not hands enough to till the land; and if land is not to be tilled, it had better be used for grazing than not used at all. Accordingly, the Government accepted the fact that grazing was to be the principal industry of the colony, and parcelled out its territory into huge runs, which it let on leases for an insignificant rental to the squatters. Suddenly the gold discoveries came and broke up this pastoral future. The gold fever broke out in England, and the whole idle and desperate population came across the world as fast as ships could be found to carry them. Having made money, they naturally wanted land; but land, except in very small quantities, was not to be had, for the squatters had monopolized it. As soon as free institutions had been granted, a fierce struggle was inevitable between the oligarchy of squatters, who had obtained their leases before the discovery of gold, on the one side, and the landless multitudes who had arrived since, upon the other. By all, except the extreme partisans, it seems to be admitted that the leases must be respected. But the leases will expire in 1861; and it is with regard to the future disposal of the lands that the main battle will be fought. Of course the squatters would gladly persuade the world that their land is fit for nothing but pasturage, and that the best use to make of it would be to lease it back to them. But this view is clearly untenable. There is no sort of experience to justify the condemnation of the land to perpetual barrenness. So long as there is a single buyer who is willing to purchase it in fee, it is mere waste of public money to let it for the trifling rent of a pastoral lease. To condemn it to grow grass when there is a chance of its growing corn is a violation of the simplest economical principles. The colonists have, therefore, a perfect right to demand that enough of the best land shall always be kept in the hands of the Government to meet the wants of all possible buyers, and that the terms of purchase shall be as easy as is consistent with the interests of the revenue. But when this is done, full justice will have been done. When all buyers have been satisfied, vast territories will still remain waste, as far as agriculture is concerned. It would seem common sense that these should be put to the only other possible use, and let as pasture. But the agitators, and Mr. Horne as their exponent, are far from being satisfied with this equitable triumph over the squatters. They put forward two further claims which are quite incompatible with pastoral leases. The first is for free selection. They are not satisfied to have abundance of land available for purchase in the neighbourhood of the settled districts—they claim that the settler shall be at liberty to buy his section of crown land and build his homestead in whatever part of the colony he likes, whether it be near or remote, whether it be inhabited or wild. Of course such a claim is fatal to the system of pastoral leases. A run would be unmanageable with an agricultural farm in the middle of it. The farmer would live on the squatter's cattle, and the cattle would live on the farmer's corn, and the two would exist in a condition of chronic law-suit. It is essential to a squatter's operations that, however distant and desolate his run may be, he should be lord of all he surveys. But if it is the squatter's interest to be far from the haunts of men, it is the settler's interest to be near them. If the latter insists on planting himself in the middle of the run, he may succeed in ruining the squatter, but he will not benefit himself. To claim, therefore, for every emigrant the power of ruining a squatter, not for his own benefit, but merely to gratify a whim or a grudge, savours more of the dog-in-the-manger spite of a baffled party than of true statesmanship.

The other claim put forward by Mr. Horne on behalf of the Land Convention, which would be fatal to pastoral leases, is the claim for "free grass." He would have all the unpurchased land in Australia converted into a vast common, on which everybody's flocks and herds might graze where they would, without restraint. Setting aside the consternation which a Colonial Chancellor of the Exchequer might be supposed to feel at this summary abandonment of all his Crown rents, there is no theoretical objection to this plan. In most parts of the world commons of pasturage have worked very well. But in Australia there is a practical objection to the scheme of a very formidable kind. The settlers would soon find that their free common was a very nominal sort of privilege. As soon as a squatter found his territory incommoded by the pastoral operations of a few small settlers, he would sweep down upon them some day in the

early summer with flocks of ten thousand sheep and herds of five thousand bullocks. In a very short time their little oasis of grass would be eaten up, and their scanty pools of water drained; and when the squatter moved away, after a few days' sojourn, the small settlers would find their right of "free grass" of about as much use to them as a similar privilege in Regent-street. There are many other devices known to squatter strategy, by which the vast stock-owners of Australia could easily keep petty pastures at bay. Mr. Horne proposes some legislative enactment to prevent any such manoeuvres on the part of the grazier lords. But free grass must be free to all; and he will be puzzled to find any enactment that will do his work except a series of restrictions on the size of the flocks and their places of feeding, which would very quickly bring the wool trade of Australia to decay. In so severe a race any burdened competitor would soon be left behind.

But these extreme claims can only be treated as the exaggerated demands which men are easily goaded into making when their fair rights have been long and obstinately withheld. The justice of the case will have been fully satisfied when the Government is in a position to offer for sale as much good land as any buyer has money to buy. The area of choice should be wide, and the terms of payment as liberal as possible. But this right can be amply secured to the working men without artificially crippling and hindering the healthiest industry in Australia, and the only one upon which she can rely in case the gold should fail. Mr. Horne informs us that he expounds his views upon this question for the special purpose of influencing journalists in England. We therefore feel that it would have been hardly courteous to leave his challenge unnoticed; but if he is anxious to influence public opinion in England in favour of the views of the Melbourne democrats, he ought to gird himself more earnestly to the work. Justice can hardly be done to "Australian facts and prospects" by the unpremeditated scribbles of an occasional leisure hour.

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W. R. KETTLE, Secretary.

THE SCHOOL will RE-COMMENCE on MONDAY, the 3rd day of JANUARY.

**COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS. — EDUCATIONAL ADVANTAGES.**—The Head Master of a Grammar School, with a rich endowment and Building, staff of Masters, &c., beyond the requirements of the small town to which it belongs, is desirous of receiving a few more PARLOUR BOARDERS to prepare for the Universities or Competitive Examinations. He is assisted by a High Wrangler, and himself obtained very high University distinctions in Classics, Mathematics, English Composition, and the Moral Sciences; and subsequently had very successful experience at Cheltenham College, and other eminent schools.

The Head and Second Masters are enabled to devote much of their time to the Senior Classes. The treatment is unusually liberal, and the situation extremely healthy and agreeable. Inducement terms, Fifty Guineas.

Satisfactory particulars on application to Head Master, Constitution Office, 2, Agar-street, Strand, London, W.C.

**INFANT ORPHAN ASYLUM, WANSTEAD.**—Established for the Infant Orphans of those once in prosperity. Children are received from all parts of the kingdom. One Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty-five Fatherless Infants have already been benefited. Nearly Six Hundred Children are now in the Asylum. The NEXT ELECTION will take place on MAY 31st. Candidates should be nominated forthwith. Forms can be obtained on application to the Secretary. Life Subscription for One Vote, £5 5s; for Two Votes, £10 10s. Annual Subscription, for One Vote, 10s. 6d.; for Two Votes, 21 1s.

Offices, 40, Ludgate-hill, E.C. HENRY W. GREEN, Secretary.

**LONDON FEVER HOSPITAL ISLINGTON.** ESTABLISHED 1802.—TWO HUNDRED BEDS.

President—The Right Hon. LORD MONTAGUE.

Cases of Fever of every kind, and in all stages of malignity, occurring in the Families of the Poor, or among the Domesticates of the Affluent, are received into the Hospital at all hours.

FUNDS are PRESSINGLY NEEDED. Money may be paid to the Treasurer, Messrs. HOARE and Co., Fleet-street; or to the Secretary, at the Hospital.

**HOSPITAL FOR DISEASES OF THE SKIN,** NEW BRIDGE STREET, BLACKFRIARS, LONDON.

President—SAMUEL GURNEY, Esq., M.P.

Consulting Physicians—DR. SOUTHWOOD SMITH, and DR. HODGKIN.

Surgeon—MR. STANTIN; Assistant-Surgeon—MR. M'WHINNIE.

Eight Hundred Patients are treated Weekly. The poor are admitted Free, or by the payment of a small sum to the funds of the Hospital.

Donations and Subscriptions most thankfully received by the President, the Secretary, or by Messrs. Barclay, Bevan, and Co., 54, Lombard-street, London.

GEORGE BUNT F.R.C.S., Hon. Sec. ALFRED RICHARDS, Secretary.

**CHARING-CROSS HOSPITAL, West Strand.**—The number of sick and disabled applicants at this Charity being much increased by the greater privations to which the poor are now liable, and by the inclemency of the season, the Governors respectfully SOLICIT the ASSISTANCE of the BENEVOLENT, which will be thankfully received by the Secretary, at the Hospital, and by Messrs. Coutts, 50, Strand; Messrs. Drummond, 40, Charing-cross; Messrs. Hoare, 57, Fleet-street; and through all the principal bankers.

JOHN ROBERTSON, Hon. Sec.

**HYDROPATHY.—THE BEULAH SPA HYDROPATHIC**

and HOMEOPATHIC ESTABLISHMENT, Upper Norwood, replete with every comfort, within twenty minutes' walk of the Crystal Palace, is OPEN for the reception of Patients and Visitors. Terms—30 Guineas for Patients, 5 Guineas for Visitors. Particulars of Dr. BITTERBAUGH, M.D., the Resident Physician.

DE. DE JONGH'S

(Knight of the Order of Leopold of Belgium)

**LIGHT-BROWN COD LIVER OIL.**

Prescribed, in consequence of its immeasurable superiority over every other kind, as the safest, speediest, and most effectual remedy for

CONSUMPTION, BRONCHITIS, COUGHS, RHEUMATISM, GOUT, NEURALGIA,

GENERAL DEBILITY, DISEASES OF THE SKIN,

RICKETS, INFANTILE WASTING, AND ALL SCROFULOUS AFFECTIONS.

OPINION OF CHARLES COWAN, Esq., M.D., L.R.C.S.E.

Senior Physician to the Royal Berkshire Hospital, &c. &c.

"A tendency to prefer a colourless and tasteless Oil, if not counteracted, will ultimately jeopardize the reputation of an unquestionably valuable addition to the Materia Medica. Dr. Cowan wishes Dr. de Jongh therefore every success in his meritorious undertaking."

Sold ONLY in IMPERIAL Half-pints, 5s. 6d.; Pints, 4s. 6d.; Quarts, 3s. 6d., and bottled with Dr. DE JONGH'S signature, WITHOUT WHICH NONE CAN POSSIBLY BE GENUINE, by respectable Chemists.

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ANSAR, HARFORD, AND CO., 77, STRAND, LONDON, W.C.

## NOTICE OF DIVIDEND.—BANK OF DEPOSIT

(Established A.D. 1844), No. 3, Pall Mall East, London, S.W.—The WARRANTS for the HALF-YEARLY INTEREST, at the rate of Five per Cent. per Annum, on Deposit Accounts, to the 1st December, are ready for delivery, and payable daily between the hours of Ten and Four.

10th January, 1860. PETER MORRISON, Managing Director.

Parties desirous of Investing Money are requested to examine the plan of the BANK OF DEPOSIT.

Prospectuses and forms sent free on application.

## THE MERCANTILE DISCOUNT COMPANY (Limited).

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that the DIVIDEND and BONUS, together equal to Ten per Cent. per Annum (free of income-tax), declared at the Meeting of the Proprietors held this day, will be Payable on and after FRIDAY, the 20th inst., at the Offices of the Company.

By order of the Board, JAS. N. A. WALLINGER, Secretary.

24 and 25, Birch-lane, London, 18th January, 1860.

## THE MERCANTILE DISCOUNT COMPANY (Limited).

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN, that all APPLICATIONS for the SHARES authorized by the General Meeting, held this day, to be allotted at a PREMIUM of £2 10s. per share, must be made by the 31st instant.

Copies of the Report and Balance Sheet, with Form of Application for Shares, may be had of the Secretary, or of Messrs. Foster Brothers and Frisby, Stockbrokers, 27, Tokenhouse-yard.

By order of the Board, JAS. N. A. WALLINGER, Secretary.

25 and 25, Birch-lane, London, 18th January, 1860.

## CROWN LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY.

LONDON—33, NEW BRIDGE STREET, E.C.

EDINBURGH—45, GEORGE STREET. DUBLIN—44, DAME STREET.

WILLIAM WHITMORE, Esq., Chairman.

OCTAVIUS OMMANNEY, Esq., Deputy-Chairman.

DIRECTORS.

John Chapman, Esq. George H. Hooper, Esq.

C. C. Chittenden, Esq. Lieutenant-Colonel Kirkland.

J. C. H. de Colquhoun, LL.B. James Mitchell, Esq.

Edward J. Daniell, Esq. John Nelson, Esq.

Edward Hamilton, Esq. Park Nelson, Esq.

George Hankey, Esq. C. S. Ferrel, Esq.

AUDITORS.

Binny Colvin, Esq. H. W. Harrison, Esq.

George Sparkes, Esq.

Funds Invested £847,000

Annual Income 110,000

Claims Paid 1,150,000

BONUS YEAR.

Persons assuring on or before the 23rd March next will be entitled to one full year's share in the profits then to be divided.

The Bonus becomes vested after payment of the Third premium.

The Profits will be divided in every Fifth year after the 23rd March next.

No extra premium is charged for service in any Volunteer Corps within the United Kingdom during Peace or War.

B. HALL TODD, Secretary and Actuary.

## GLOBE INSURANCE.

CORNHILL, AND CHANCERY CROSS, LONDON.—ESTABLISHED 1803.

Capital ONE MILLION, All Paid-up and Invested.

The following are examples of the PROFITS accruing on GLOBE PARTICIPATING LIFE POLICIES under the BONUS declared as at 31st December, 1859:—

(Policies of One to Five complete Years Participate in proportion.)

The above Profits are equivalent—if added to the Policy—to a Reversionary Sum at death equal to ONE POUND FOUR SHILLINGS PER CENT. PER ANNUM on the Sum Insured for each of the completed years of the Policy; or, if taken as an IMMEDIATE CASH PAYMENT, is, at most ages, considerably more than ONE YEAR'S PREMIUM.

The Bonus Periods are FIVE Years, and the Rates of Life Premiums, whether with or without PROFITS, very economical.

FIRE, LIFE, ANNUITY, ENDOWMENT, and REVERSIONARY business transacted.

WILLIAM NEWMARCH, Secretary.

\* No Charge for Volunteer and Militia Corps.

For upwards of thirty years NO EXTRA PREMIUM has been charged by the GLOBE for service in the MILITIA and in VOLUNTEER Corps in the United Kingdom.

## SPECIAL NOTICE.

TO SECURE THE ADVANTAGE OF THIS YEAR'S ENTRY, PROPOSALS MUST BE LODGED AT THE HEAD OFFICE, OR AT ANY OF THE SOCIETY'S AGENCIES ON OR BEFORE 1st MARCH.

POLICIES EFFECTED ON OR BEFORE 1st MARCH, 1860, WILL RECEIVE SIX YEARS' ADDITIONS AT THE DIVISION OF PROFITS AT 1st MARCH, 1860.

## SCOTTISH EQUITABLE LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY.

HEAD OFFICE—26, ST. ANDREW SQUARE, EDINBURGH.

The Profits are divided every three years, and wholly belong to the members of the Society. The last division took place at 1st March, 1859, and from the results of it is taken, the following

EXAMPLE OF ADDITIONS.

A POLICY FOR £1000, DATED 1st MARCH, 1832,

is now increased to £1054 9s. 5d. Supposing the age of the Assured at the date of entry to be now forty, these Additions may be surrendered to the Society for a present payment of £263 17s. 8d., or such surrender would not only redeem the entire premium on the Policy; but also entitle the party to a present payment of £104 ss., and in both cases, the Policy would receive future triennial additions.

THE EXISTING ASSURANCES AMOUNT TO £5,272,567

THE ANNUAL REVENUE 167,340

THE ACCUMULATED FUND (arising solely from the Contributions of Members) 1,194,667

WM. FINLAY, Secretary.

LONDON OFFICE—24, POULTRY, E.C.

ARCHD. T. BITCHIE, Agent.

## THE STANDARD LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY.

Constituted by Special Acts of Parliament; Established 1835.

GOVERNOR—His Grace the DUKE OF BUCLEUCH and QUEENSBERRY.

DEPUTY GOVERNOR—The Right Hon. the EARL OF ELGIN and KINCARDINE.

CHAIRMAN OF THE LONDON BOARD.

The Right Hon. the EARL OF ABERDEEN.

ORDINARY DIRECTORS.

John Scott, Esq., 4, Hyde Park-street. J. C. Hemery, Esq., 28, Threadneedle-street.

Francis Le Breton, Esq., 3, Crosby-square. Lieut.-Col. James D. G. Tulloh.

T. H. Brooking, Esq., 14, New Broad-st. Alexander Gillespie, Esq., 2, Billiter-court.

John Griffith Frith, Esq., Austinfriars.

DIVISION OF PROFITS.

The Sixth Division of the Company's Profits is appointed to be made at 15th November, 1860, and all persons now joining will participate in that division.

Sums assured during the year 1859, exclusive of annuity transactions £267,525 0 0

Annual Revenue (15th November, 1859) 275,500 0 0

Accumulated Fund, invested in Government securities, in land, mortgages, &c. (15th November, 1859) 1,408,166 0 0

Loans granted on security of policies to the extent of their value any time after payment of one year's premium on the with profit scale.

No extra charge for service in Volunteer Corps, or Militia Regiments, during peace or war, whilst within the limits of the United Kingdom.

WILL THOS. THOMSON, Manager.

H. JONES WILLIAMS, Resident Secretary.

LONDON—22, KING WILLIAM STREET.

READ OFFICE.

EDINBURGH—4, GEORGE STREET.

DUBLIN—69, UPPER SACKVILLE STREET.

**ALLSOPP'S PALE ALE**, recommended by Baron LIEBIG and all the Faculty, may now be had in the finest condition, direct from the New Brewery at Burton-on-Trent, of Messrs. HARRINGTON PARKER, and CO., who have REDUCED THE PRICE of this highly esteemed beverage to

4s. 6d. per dozen, Imperial Pints.  
2s. 6d. Imperial Half-pints.

Messrs. HARRINGTON PARKER, and Co. also supply Allsopp's Ale in Casks of 15 Gallons and upwards.

94, Pall Mall, S.W., 31st December, 1859.

**THE OXFORD SHERRY**, 36s. per dozen, bottles included.  
421 10s. per Quarter Cask.—CADIZ WINE COMPANY, 60, St. James's-street, London.  
N.B.—Carriage free. Established 1847.

**THE BEST AND CHEAPEST TEAS IN ENGLAND** are to be obtained of PHILLIPS and CO., Tea Merchants, 8, King William-street, City, London.  
Good strong useful Congou Tea, 2s. 6d., 2s. 8d., 2s. 10d., 3s., and 3s. 4d. Rich Souchong Teas, 3s. 6d., 3s. 10d., and 4s. Tea and Coffee, to the value of 40s., sent carriage free to any railway station or market town in England. A Price Current free by post on application.

**"WHAT DO THE WILD WAVES SAY NOW?"** Why, "that you will spend an ocean of money in your journey to Pekin; and, query, will you then be able to buy your Tea at the present low prices?" The celebrated 6th. has as low as 2s. 4d. per lb. Black, Green, or Mixed; Splendid Souchong or Congou, 3s. 8d. per lb. in the berry, 10d. per lb. **EAST INDIA TEA COMPANY**, 6, Great St. Helen's-churchyard, Bishopsgate-street.

**TEA—STRACHAN and CO.'S Strong Rough "Domestic"**  
Black, at 3s. 2d. per lb.; their Fine "Intermediate" Black, at 3s. 8d. per lb.; and their Matchless "Drawing-room" Black, at 4s. 2d. per lb. 7 lbs. and upwards sent free of Carriage within Sixty Miles of London.—20, CORNHILL, LONDON, E.C.

**COCOA—TAYLOR BROTHERS' PATENT**  
LENTILIZED COCOA, is pronounced by Professor Letheby and Dr. Hassall to be superior in nutritious element to all others.  
See their Reports Printed on the Labels of each Canister.  
Sold by all Grocers, at 1s. 6d. per lb.

**RELFE'S HOMEOPATHIC COCOA** stands unrivalled for its Purity, Nutritious Qualities, and Agreeable Flavour. Prepared and Sold in One Pound and Half-Pound Packets, at 1s. 6d. per Pound, by FREDERIC SHARPE, Export and Family Grocer, &c., 4, Gracechurch-street, London; and may be had of Grocers and Chemists in Town and Country.

**KEATING'S COUGH LOZENGES.**—What Diseases are more fatal in their consequences than neglected Coughs, Colds, Sore Throats, or Lungular Affections? The first and best remedy is KEATING'S COUGH LOZENGES.—Prepared and sold in Boxes, 1s. 6d. and 2s. 6d., 4s. 6d. and 10s. 6d. each, by THOMAS KEATING, Chemist, &c., 70, St. Paul's Churchyard, London. Retail by all Druggists.

H. J. AND D. NICOLL,  
114, 116, 118, 120, 122, 114, REGENT-STREET, W. 22, CORNHILL, E.C.;  
AND 10, ST. ANN'S-SQUARE, MANCHESTER.

**TO PARENTS AND GUARDIANS.**—YOUTH, from three to fifteen years of age, are SUPPLIED by Messrs. NICOLL with OVERCOATS and every description of CLOTHING adopted for the various ages, at the same moderate prices and in the same degree of style and durability that may be observed in all the other departments of their several establishments.

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CORNER OF BOND STREET, W.

BY SPECIAL APPOINTMENT TO THE QUEEN, AND THE EMPEROR AND EMPRESS OF THE FRENCH.  
**ARTISTS IN DRAPING THE REAL FIGURE.**  
COURT, DIPLOMATIC, MILITARY, AND NAVAL UNIFORMS.  
Practical experience, combined with a scientific knowledge of external anatomy and the definite proportions and forms of the human figure, give them confidence in soliciting patronage.

**GLENFIELD PATENT STARCH.**  
USED IN THE ROYAL LAUNDRY, and recommended by HER MAJESTY'S LAUNDRESSES to be the FINEST STARCH SHE EVER USED. Sold by all Chandlers, Grocers, &c. &c.—WOTHELSPOON and CO., Glasgow and London.

**GLYCERINE SOAP UNSCENTED**, natural colour, in 1s. 6d. Packets. The most pleasant and best Soap for the Skin. PRICE'S NON-GUTTERING BEDROOM CANDLES in boxes, 1s. and 3s. Candles, 1s. and 2s. 6d.  
PRICE'S PATENT CANDLE COMPANY (Limited), London.

**BLIGHTS, MILDEW, BEDBUGS.—GISHURST**  
COMPOUND, patented for preventing and destroying these and other pests.—See *Gardener's Chronicle*, *Coltidge*, *Coltidge*, and *Field*. In boxes, 1s. 6d., 2s. 6d., 4s. 6d., and 10s. 6d. each, by all Nursery and Seeds Men, wholesale of PRICE'S PATENT CANDLE COMPANY (Limited).

**MECHI AND BAZIN'S DESPATCH BOX-WRITING**  
CASES, in Russia and Morocco leather, are made in Twenty different forms and sizes, fitted with real Brannan and Chubb Locks, and others of a cheaper description, prices vary from 1s. to 6s. Portable Writing and Dressing Cases, Brush Cases, Courier Bags, Pic-Nic Cases, Wicker Lunchbox Baskets, Sporting Knives, Wine and Spirit Flasks, &c.—112, Regent-street, W., and 4, London-lane-street, E.C.

**HANDSOME BRASS AND IRON BEDSTEADS.—HEAL**  
AND SON'S SHOW ROOMS contain a large assortment of Brass Bedsteads, suitable both for home use and for tropical climates; Handsome Iron Bedsteads with brass mountings and elegantly japanned; Plain Iron Bedsteads for servants; every description of Wood Bedstead that is manufactured in mahogany, birch, walnut-tree woods, polished deal and japanned, all fitted with bedding and furniture complete, as well as every description of Bed-room Furniture.

**HEAL AND SON'S ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE,**  
containing Designs and Prices of 100 Bedsteads, as well as of 150 different Articles of Bed-room Furniture, sent free by post.—HEAL and SON, Bedstead, Bedding, and Bed-room Furniture Manufacturers, 180, Tottenham Court-road, W.

**FENDERS, STOVES, FIRE-IRONS, and CHIMNEY-PIECES.** Buyers of the above are requested, before finally deciding, to visit WILLIAM S. BURTON'S SHOW-ROOMS. They contain such an assortment of FENDERS, STOVES, RANGES, CHIMNEY-PIECES, FIRE-IRONS, and GENERAL IRONMONGERY as cannot be approached elsewhere, either for variety, novelty, beauty of design, or exquisiteness of workmanship. Bright Stoves, with Ornamented and Two Sets of Bars, 43 1/2s. to 220 1/2s.; Broad Fenders, with Standards, 7s. to 43 1/2s.; Steel Fenders, 43 1/2s. to 411; ditto, with rich Ornamented, from 23 1/2s. to 411s.; Chimney-Pieces, from 21 1/2s. to 230; Fire Irons, from 2s. 3d. the Set, to 43 1/2s. The BURTON and all other PATENT STOVES, with Radiating Hearth-Plates.

**BEDSTEADS, BATHS, and LAMPS.—WILLIAM S. BURTON** has SIX LARGE SHOW ROOMS devoted exclusively to the SEPARATE DISPLAY of LAMPS, BATHS, and METALLIC BEDSTEADS. The Stock of each is at once the largest, newest, and most varied ever submitted to the Public, and marked at prices proportionate to those that have tended to make his Establishment the most distinguished in this Country.

Bedsteads, from 12s. 6d. to 230 1/2s. each.  
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Lamps (Moderator), from 6s. 6d. to 47 7s. each.  
Pure Colza Oil (All other kinds at the same rate.) 4s. per Gallon.

**DISH-COVERS and HOT-WATER DISHES** in every material, in great variety, and of the newest and most recherche Patterns. Tin Dish-Covers, 6s. 6d. the Set of Six; Black Tin, 12s. 6d. the Set of Six; Elegant Metal, 22s. 6d. the Set; Britannia Metal, with or without Silver-Plated Handles, 7s. 6d. to 110s. 6d. the Set; Sheffield Plated, 210 to 210 1/2s. the Set; Black Tin Hot-Water Dish, with Walls for Gravy, 12s. to 30s.; Britannia Metal, 22s. to 77s.; Electro-Plated on Nickel, full-size, 211 1/2s.

**WILLIAM S. BURTON'S GENERAL FURNISHING IRONMONGERY CATALOGUE** may be had gratis, and free by post. It contains upwards of 400 Illustrations of his limited Stock of Electro and Sheffield Plate, Nickel Silver and Britannia Metal Goods, Dish-Covers and Hot Water Dish, Fenders, Marble Chimney-Pieces, Kitchen Ranges, Lamps, Gasaliers, Tea Urns and Kettles, Tea Trays, Clocks, Table Cutlery, Baths and Toilet Ware, Turnery, Iron and Brass Bedsteads, Bedding, Bed-room Furniture, &c., with Lists of Prices and Plans of the Sixteen large Show Rooms, at 39, Oxford-street, W.; 1, 1A, 2, and 3, Newman-street; and 4, 5, and 6, Perry's-place, London.—Established 1839.

**CHRISTMAS TOILETTE REQUISITE AND NEW YEAR'S GIFT.**—Among the many articles of luxury and value purchasable at this season, none can be obtained possessing the manifold virtues of OLDBRIDGE'S BALM OF COLOMBIA. It nourishes the roots and body of the hair, it imparts the most delightful coarseness, with an agreeable fragrance of perfume, and at this period of the year prevents the hair from falling off, or if already too thin or turning grey, will stop its further progress and soon restore it again. Those who really desire to have beautiful hair, either with wave or curl, should use it daily. It is also celebrated for strengthening the hair, freeing it from scurf, and producing new hair, whiskers, and moustaches. Established upwards of thirty years. No imitative wash can equal it. Price 3s. 6d., 6s., and 11s. only. C. and A. OLDBRIDGE, 18, Wellington-street North, Strand, W.C.

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Regent-street. Description and List of Prices, post free.

**GLASS PAINTING and MURAL DECORATION.**  
**LAVERS and BARRAUD, of ENDELL-STREET, BLOOMSBURY,**  
beg to inform their Patrons that they will be happy to submit Designs for works of the highest character, and for more simple windows—e.g., Grisaille, Geometrie, and Quarry Glazings; also, for Mural Decoration. Prices and Information forwarded.

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"Perfection of mechanism."—*Morning Post*.

Gold Watches 4 to 100 guineas. Silver Watches 2 to 60 guineas.  
Send two stamps for Benson's Illustrated Watch Pamphlet. Watches sent free to any part of the Kingdom on receipt of a remittance.—38 and 34, Ludgate-hill, London, E.C.

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